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Parent-adolescent relationships in policemen's families.

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PARENT-ADOLESCENT RELATIONSHIPS IN POLICEMEN'S FAMILIES

A Dissertation Presented

by

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ABSTRACT

PARENT-ADOLESCENT RELATIONSHIPS IN POLICEMEN'S FAMILIES

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This study examined the relationships between adolescent emotional autonomy, parent-adolescent conflict, and parents' sense of self and well-being in experienced policemen's families. Instrumentation, design, and procedures were utilized from Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) parent-adolescent research with the general public.

Twenty-four married experienced police officers, having an oldest child 10-15 years old, were recruited through their law enforcement agencies in suburban and rural northeastern United States. Officers and their wives completed instruments measuring parent-adolescent conflict and four measures of parental well-being: self-esteem, midlife identity concerns, general life satisfaction, and psychological symptoms.

Adolescents (10 sons, 14 daughters) reported their emotional autonomy, self-esteem, and psychological symptoms. All participants completed the Family Environment Scale (FES) and Maslach Burnout Inventory (officers only), including an additional ten inexperienced officers and their wives (surveyed for comparison with experienced officers' families).

Data supported a police family profile in which both parents (especially the mothers) described themselves as being more direct and authoritative in discussions with their early adolescent oldest children, as compared with other families. Police family adolescents described their families as more cohesive and less tolerant of open expressiveness (both $p < .05$), as placing greater emphasis upon achievement and moral-religious values (both $p < .10$), and as functioning more as an interdependent unit ($p < .001$), compared with national FES norms. Police parents (FES) supported the interdependent descriptor ($p < .05$), and said that they rely upon set rules and procedures more than other parents to maintain their family systems ($p < .05$).

Inexperienced officers' wives' (FES) data suggested the greater development of the police family profile (e.g., more cohesive, less expressive, more interdependent, and more regimented) with officers' increased police experience and their youngsters' increased age.

Follow-up interviews with four experienced police couples unanimously supported this more authoritative police family profile, and suggested that the officer's role with the public (directly responding to problems, and then trying to resolve them) influences officers' and their wives' parenting style.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

This study examined the relationships among police officers, their wives, and their adolescent children. It focused upon one particular juncture in the police family's life cycle- the time when their firstborn child enters adolescence.

The adolescents in these families reported their relative level of emotional autonomy, their level of self-esteem, and the extent to which they have experienced psychological symptoms. Police officers and their wives shared their perspectives on their parent-adolescent conflict, plus described four aspects of their current sense of self and well-being: their level of self-esteem, their general degree of life satisfaction, their midlife identity concerns, and the extent of their depressive psychological symptomatology. The correlations between these variables were determined.

Each of the parents and adolescents also articulated their perspectives on their family's social-environmental characteristics, and described some traits of their family's relationships, personal growth and goal orientation, and its system for maintenance. The officers reported on three emotions related to their work: the extent to which they felt emotionally exhausted and depersonalized from members of the public, and their sense of personal accomplishment with their work.

A. The need for this study

An individual's occupation is believed to influence their own physical and mental health, their relationships among family members and friends, and the pattern of living which they maintain (Fredrickson, 1982; Machlowitz, 1980; O' Toole et al., 1973). Law enforcement work appears to have a significant physical and emotional impact upon both the officers and their family members (e.g., Kroes, 1985; Stratton, 1984).

Compared with other occupational groups, police officers reportedly manifest some of the highest rates of divorce, alcoholism, and suicide in America (Richard & Fell, 1975; Kroes, 1985; Violanti et al., 1985; Nordlicht, 1979). Boston police officer Ed Donovan (1981), who coordinates an in-house stress management program for police officers, contended that these statistics are likely underestimated.

The physical and psychological impact of police work upon the officer and his or her family members has been well documented (e.g., Kroes, 1985; Territo & Vetter, 1981; Maslach & Jackson, 1979; Nordlicht, 1979; Shev & Hewes, 1977; Depue, 1981; Violanti et al., 1985; Maynard & Maynard, 1982). More police departments are now utilizing psychologists and psychiatrists to assist in their selection of psychologically stable police candidates, and to provide an increasing range of preventive and remedial psychological services to the officers and their families (Aylward, 1985; Stratton, 1976, 1984; Hundley, 1987).

California Sheriff Rod Graham emphasized that law enforcement work is "a nightmare [emotionally] unless you [correctly] deal with it [psychologically]," and approximated that his administration "causes seventy percent of the stresses" experienced by his officers (Police

Psychology Conference, Boston, MA, 10/85). This implies that not all of the stresses police officers face originate in the criminal element on the street, but rather that organizational factors in police departments also take their toll.

He emphasized that the past year's involvement (1984-85) by a psychological services firm had saved his department hundreds of thousands of dollars by reducing the number of sick days officers used, by increasing officers' productivity, and by helping to settle and prevent officers missing work on the basis of workman's compensation claims with varied injuries.

Police psychologist Dr. Carol Rivero, one of the clinicians presenting with Sheriff Graham, emphasized the need to involve the officer's family in psychological treatment, as the impact of police work upon the family is pervasive. She estimated the divorce rate for police officers in her region to be 73 percent, and suggested that "most police officers" participating in treatment, including those ordered into treatment by their superiors (e.g., as standard procedure, following their involvement in a shooting), have indicated that they and their families have benefited significantly from their involvement with a psychologist (Police Psychology Conference, Boston, MA, 10/85).

Current literature on the police family dynamics (e.g., Depue, 1981; Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, 1978) and on the occupational development of the police officer (e.g., Stratton, 1984) has been written primarily on the basis of the experiences of police psychologists and psychiatrists, sociologists, and police administrators. Only a few studies have empirically examined police family characteristics (e.g., Maynard et al., 1980).

This study will, hopefully, begin to fill this void of empirical research on police families. Other studies of police families (e.g., Maslach & Jackson, 1979) have tended to focus upon issues relating to isolated characteristics of individual officers (i.e., without simultaneously gathering information about other aspects of the officers, their family members, or their family relationships).

In a preliminary study, this author found that police officers' relationships with their adolescent sons were influenced by many factors, including the officer's job, and the complementary developmental issues reported by both the adolescent (e.g., seeking autonomy from their parents) and the officer (e.g., negotiating his midlife identity concerns). This data suggested that more information is needed about various aspects of police parents, their children, and their family relationships to more fully understand how police work affects these officers and their families, and to more effectively design and facilitate their treatment.

Studying families in the general population, Small et al. (1987) found that parents reported the most stress from parent-adolescent conflict during their oldest child's early adolescence (approximately ages 10-15). Montemayor (1986) concluded that "about 20 percent of parents and adolescents have serious and continual difficulty with each other, and another 20 percent have intermittant relational problems" (p. 18).

Steinberg (1987) described that in the 1960's and 1970's, parent-adolescent research tended to focus upon various aspects of either parents or adolescents, with few studies concurrently examining characteristics of both groups and their relationships, or articulating differences in parent-adolescent relations according to gender or social class.

Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) completed such a study with the general population, investigating the relationships between adolescent emotional autonomy, parent-adolescent conflict, and four aspects of parental well-being. Significant correlations were found between some of these paired variables, in some instances on the basis of gender (of the adolescent and/or the parent) and/or social class.

This study of police families replicated Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) research, making some direct comparisons between characteristics of police families and those of families in the general population. Hopefully, such comparisons provided some new insights into the particular problems and interactional patterns of police families, and also either supported or negated some of the existing hypotheses on these issues (e.g., Kroes, 1985; Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, 1978).

With this new information, psychologists and other clinicians may then be able to more fully understand and, consequently, more effectively intervene with officers, their families, and their departments. Improved insights into police family dynamics may also help to shape revisions in departmental policy aimed at reducing stressors experienced by police officers and stabilizing police family relations.

B. Procedural Summary

Adolescent emotional autonomy, parent-adolescent conflict, and parental well-being data were ascertained using Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) instruments and procedures (explained in greater detail in this study's third chapter, and in Silverberg and Steinberg (1987)). As described, this provided for optimal comparison between this study's

findings and their's, as well as with future research using similar instruments and procedures.

Supplementary descriptive information regarding these families' relationship dimensions, personal growth and goal orientations, and system maintenance factors was obtained through the parents' and adolescents' completion of the Family Environment Scale (FES; Moos & Moos, 1986). Further descriptive information regarding the officers' level of "burnout" (emotional exhaustion, depersonalization towards the public, and sense of accomplishment towards his work) was acquired through their completion of the Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI; Maslach & Jackson, 1986).

FES and MBI data were considered with some of Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) instruments (e.g., their parent-adolescent conflict measure, as the FES contains its own Conflict subscale), comparing how the officers, their wives, and their adolescents perceived their families, and more fully describing characteristics of these officers and their families at this stage of their family life cycle.

Subjects were recruited from their law enforcement agencies in the northeastern United States, with this author personally administering these instruments to the families in their homes (or at another suitable private location of their choosing). For comparison, a second group of officers with less than two years of police experience, who were also married and had at least one child, also completed the FES (officers and their wives) and the MBI (officers only) to provide a baseline on these instruments.

C. Format for this study

In the second chapter, literature relevant to this study's variables is reviewed, including separate sections on the Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) study and FES and MBI instruments. In the third chapter, hypotheses, instrumentation and procedures are outlined and discussed. The fourth chapter reported the results from the data collection with these police families. The fifth and final chapter discussed these results in some detail, drew some conclusions, and made recommendations for future research.

Chapter II
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter reviews literature pertaining to adolescent emotional autonomy, parent-adolescent conflict, and parental well-being. These variables are discussed in the first three sections of this chapter, followed by a summary of the Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) research. Each of these sections discusses the relevance of these variables to police families.

The latter sections of this chapter present brief reviews of studies pertaining to the Family Environment Scale's (FES; Moos & Moos, 1986) and Maslach Burnout Inventory's (MBI; Maslach & Jackson, 1986) evaluation of police officers and their families.

A. Adolescent Emotional Autonomy

1. Definitions and developmental considerations

Individuation and adolescent autonomy are complementary. Josselson (1980) described individuation in adolescence as a set of related, integrated processes used by the adolescent to become independent from those upon whom they had been primarily dependent (in most instances, one's parents). Individuation describes <u>how</u> an adolescent begins to establish a more unique identity, separates from their parents, and marks an increase in the adolescent providing for their own physical, social, and emotional needs. Blos (1967) called individuation a "necessary process and [achievement]" for normal adolescent development (p. 169).

Autonomy is the state of being increasingly independent from those upon whom one previously relied. In a sense, it is the product or outcome of individuation. Steinberg (1985) described adolescent autonomy as "a

healthy sense of independence" (p. 273). Steinberg and Silverberg (1986) elaborated, indicating that adolescent autonomy might be better understood as "an aspect of [an adolescent's] relationship [with others], rather than a psychological attribute" (p. 842, emphasis added).

For this study's purposes, adolescent emotional autonomy refers to a measure of the adolescent's "realistic perception of his or her parents; individuation from parental objects; de-idealization of parents; and nondependency upon parents" (Silverberg & Steinberg, 1987, p. 300). It reflects a developmental transition by the adolescent to a more mature, less biased perspective of one's parents, and a decrease in their reliance upon their parents for various support and need fulfillment.

Theorists have depicted adolescent individuation and autonomy with great variance. Anna Freud (1958) characterized this drive for autonomy as a time of marked inconsistency and intensely polarized feelings towards one's parents (and others). Erik Erikson (1960/1980) agreed that adolescents tend to "[go] in for extremes- total commitments and total repudiations," and emphasized that the extent of crisis which adolescents experience will vary from individual to individual, affected by numerous factors (including their own families, and their culture) (p. 232).

Albert Bandura (1964/1980) studied a group of adolescent boys, and concluded that they did not push themselves away (individuate) from their parents, but rather "internalized their parents' values and standards of behavior to a large degree" (p. 23). Bandura (1964/1980) described that his data (from a 1959 study with Walters, not included in his article) supported the deductions that for most of the boys in their sample, their "emancipation from [their] parents" had been completed rather than begun

during adolescence, and that this emancipation was more difficult for the fathers (some of whom reported missing their sons' companionship) than it was for the sons (p. 24).

James Marcia (1980) suggested that adolescents may seek autonomy in one of four modal behavioral styles or patterns, which he called identity statuses. In addition to suggesting that adolescents may utilize different styles of working through this period's many changes, he added that they may fluctuate from one style to another (or incorporate characteristics from more than one style) in the process of seeking autonomy.

Identity Achievement adolescents were described to have achieved (or nearly achieved) full autonomy from their parents, pursuing a vocation and/or set of ideals they themselves have chosen. Foreclosures were more consistent with Bandura's (1964/1980) findings, assuming vocational and ideological direction directly from their parents- consequently, not experiencing any sense of crisis. Identity Diffusions were characterized as adolescents who may or may not have experienced some sort of crisis; regardless, they currently lack clear ideological or vocational direction (i.e., have not achieved autonomy). Finally, Moratoriums were adolescents currently in crisis en route to autonomy (consistent with Freud's (1958) description), struggling with issues of their vocational or ideological commitment.

Steinberg and Silverberg (1986) studied emotional autonomy with a cross-sectional sample of 865 early adolescents (ages 10-16). They portrayed the transition from childhood to adolescence as more of a "trading of dependency on parents for dependency on peers, rather than straightforward and unidimensional growth in autonomy" (p. 841). They

found adolescents increasingly de-idealized their parents, became more independent from them, and perceived themselves as "individuated" from their parents (p. 845; all $p < .001$). The adolescents' ability to consider their parents outside of the parental role (i.e., their perspective taking ability) was not significantly different on the basis of age in their sample.

Resistance to peer pressure declined steadily between 5th and 8th grade, and then increased slightly, at the start of high school ($p < .001$). Girls were more likely than boys to "resist the influence of friends in both antisocial and neutral situations" (p. 846; $p < .001$). Emotional autonomy from parents was negatively correlated to resistance to peer pressure ($p < .001$), meaning that as adolescents were more autonomous from their parents, they were less able to resist their peers' pressure to "engage in antisocial behavior" (p. 847). It was not clear whether a causal relationship existed between these two factors.

Steinberg & Silverberg (1986) concluded that adolescent autonomy is not a unidimensional trait which adolescents exhibit the same way in all situations. They suggested that the adolescent's relations with parents and peers do seem related in some ways (rather than functioning as "separate worlds"), though the specific causal relationship between these factors is not yet clear (Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986, p. 849).

2. Influence of parenting style on adolescent autonomy

Diana Baumrind (1968, 1978, 1983) differentiated three styles of parenting, and emphasized that one of these three best facilitates adolescent autonomy. "Permissive" parents reportedly empower the adolescent to share the parent's power and authority, and in that sense fail to provide adequate structure, limit setting, and direction when the

adolescent is not able to provide their own (Baumrind, 1968, p. 256). "Authoritarian" parents are considered to be at the other extreme of the parental authority continuum, insisting upon overly rigid demands without allowing for the adolescent's input or feedback (p. 261).

"Authoritative" parents are considered to optimally promote autonomy, as they offer the adolescent some choices within the safety and structure of reasonable limitations (Baumrind, 1968, p. 261). These parents also encourage verbal exchanges with their adolescent, which reinforce the adolescent's positive self-image and foster the adolescent's ability to capably negotiate with the world. While some have questioned Baumrind's interpretation of authoritative parenting's effectiveness (Lewis, 1981), others have recognized this parenting style as optimal for fostering adolescent autonomy (Hill, 1980; Steinberg, 1985; Hill & Holmbeck, 1987).

3. 'Advantages' and 'disadvantages' of adolescent autonomy

Even as some have identified adolescent autonomy as an inevitable and necessary developmental process, others have noted that it can be a 'mixed blessing' for the adolescent and their parents.

Sullivan and Sullivan (1980) studied the relationship between male adolescents leaving home for college and various aspects of their parent-adolescent relationships. They found that, compared to those male college students who continued living at home and commuted to college, those who moved to college became more independent of their parents, were more satisfied with their parent-adolescent relationship, and became both more affectionate towards and more communicative with their parents.

They did note some sex differences in their findings. Mothers whose sons moved away to college felt more affectionate towards their sons, while

fathers whose sons moved to a college more than 200 miles away reported some difficulty in perceiving their sons as more independent after the move than they were before. Noting that this study is limited both in adolescent gender and also in the destination of the departing adolescent (suggesting that it may also have been skewed in the socioeconomic distribution of the sample), it does suggest that for this population, fathers may have some difficulty emotionally separating from their sons- particularly if they perceive their sons as relatively inaccessible to them.

Steinberg's (1985) position was that most autonomous adolescents have pleasant, caring relationships with their parents, in part resulting from the adolescent's gradual, tempered individuation in the context of 'authoritative' parenting.

Hill (1980) described that the early adolescent's shifts in loyalty from parents to peers was not necessarily at the expense of their parents' value orientation. He suggested that the peer group's orientation has generally been found to share numerous similarities with the more global orientation and perspective of society.

There is another side to this discussion of adolescent autonomy, however. For some adolescents and their parents, individuation and autonomy contribute to individual and/or familial problems. Becoming less dependent upon one's parents also implies that the adolescent must learn to provide for themselves some of what the parent previously offered them (e.g., decisiveness, moral responsibility) and also learn to seek out others to help meet the balance of their needs (e.g., having peers help validate their changing identity).

Greenberg et al. (1983) studied the nature and importance of adolescents' relationships with both their peers and with their parents. Their sample consisted of 213 adolescents, ranging in age from 12 to 19 years old. Their instruments included a life events checklist (Johnson & Mc Cutcheon, cited in Greenberg et al., 1983), the Tennessee Self Concept Scale, a question about the adolescent's overall satisfaction with life, and the Inventory of Adolescent Attachments (developed by Greenberg).

They found that the quality of an adolescent's feelings toward his or her parents is significantly related to how often they might seek out their parents "in times of need" (p. 378; $p < .001$). Adolescents' feelings toward their peers were related to their tendency to seek help and support from those peers ($p < .01$). Adolescents' tendency to seek help from their parents and from their peers was also related ($p < .001$).

In comparing adolescents' relationships with their parents and with their peers, this sample said that they "frequently" relied upon their parents as a source for consultation or support, even when these parent-adolescent relations seemed somewhat strained or conflictive- a pattern found to remain consistent throughout later adolescence. The parent-adolescent relationship was more powerful ($p < .02$) than the peer relations as a predictor of adolescent well-being, with these adolescents indicating that favorable parent-adolescent relations helped them cope with "the effects of high stress" (Greenberg et al., 1983, p. 383).

Youniss and Ketterlinus (1987) examined the relationship between communication patterns and connectedness in parent-adolescent relationships with a sample of 605 adolescents attending the seventh and ninth grades in public and Catholic schools. At issue was to what extent

adolescents perceived that their parents "knew them," and how much these adolescents reportedly cared about what their parents thought of them (p. 265). Four questions were asked (using comparable 4-level Likert measures), two pertaining to each parent: how well does the student perceive that their parent knows them, and to what extent does the adolescent care about how each parent thinks of them.

These adolescents said that they cared more about what their parents thought of them than the extent to which they believed that their parents knew them as persons (the authors did not report the level of significance of their findings). On this former scale, the mean rating exceeded 3.5 on the 4-point scale, with the authors suggesting that these adolescents were concerned how their parents considered them "because they want parents to acknowledge that they are no longer children and they want parents to approve of the individuals they have become" (p. 271).

In comparing data obtained from 9th graders and 11th graders, the younger group indicated that their parents knew them better, suggesting that the older group, as one would expect, may have become more autonomous. They emphasized that the parent-adolescent relationship "is not static but develops [over time]" (p. 272). Daughters reported that their mothers knew them better than their fathers, while sons did not differentiate between parents on this variable.

One caution about an assumption made by the Youniss and Ketterlinus (1987) study seems warranted. Their equating amount of parent-adolescent verbal communication with the extent to which a parent knows their adolescent seems misleading. In some families, the adolescent

may indicate that their parent knows them very well (or vice versa), even though their relationship is not characterized by frequent or lengthy conversations.

One other characteristic of adolescent autonomy is that it is significantly related to parental stress. Small et al. (1987) investigated what period during adolescence is the most stressful for parents in their parent-adolescent relations. They questioned 139 parent-adolescent dyads, ranging in age from 10 to 17. Parents and their adolescents were separately administered questionnaires, which "assessed issues of attachment-support, autonomy-control, self-esteem, adolescent activities, and stress and conflict within the family" (p. 12). Reliability of the measures ranged from .70 to .89.

Small et al. (1987) found that parents of early adolescents (approximately ages 12-15) were most stressed by their parent-adolescent relations ($p < .05$), and that parents whose firstborn children participated in the study experienced more stress than those who had older children (and had thus been exposed to adolescent individuation and autonomy before) ($p < .01$). These two findings supported the selection of first born early adolescents for the Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) study and for this current research with police families.

Small et al. (1987) identified four aspects of adolescent autonomy which contributed to parental stress: 1) transformations in the emotional attachments between adolescents and their parents, in which the adolescent transfers their emotional attachments from their parents to their peers; 2) increased influence of the peer group (and consequent diminished parental influence) on the adolescent's decision making; 3) the

increase in the adolescent becoming more self-reliant (and less dependent upon either parents or peers); and 4) the adolescent's increased deviant behavior (e.g., truancy, substance abuse, and the onset of other delinquent behavior).

Of the four measures of adolescent autonomy Small et al. (1987) considered (desire for autonomy, adherence to parental advice, involvement in deviant activity, and the degree of emotional detachment from the family), desire for autonomy was the strongest predictor of parental stress, while emotional detachment was unrelated to it. The question of causality, whether desire for adolescent autonomy leads to parental stress, or whether stressed parents interact with their teenagers in ways that contribute to adolescents seeking autonomy from their parents, remained unanswered. It seems likely that each may contribute to the other.

4. Social class differences in adolescent autonomy

One limitation of some of the studies reviewed here is that their samples were primarily limited to one social class. This may provide for less variance in results on the basis of social class influences, but may also limit the applicability of these studies' findings.

Small et al.'s (1987) sample was comprised of highly educated, middle- and upper middle-class families. Their findings regarding adolescent emotional autonomy and parental stress may not entirely represent patterns in blue-collar families, for example.

Montemayor and Browlee's (1987) results (described in the next section) are also interpreted with some caution, as their sample was limited to white, intact, middle- to upper middle-class, predominantly (65%)

Mormon families. In this instance, the additional influence of a particular religious sect may have influenced their findings. Montemayor and Browlee (1987) noted that family relations have been found to vary as a result of ethnicity, and that the Mormon religion "generally encourages family togetherness" (p. 288).

In Youniss and Ketterlinus' (1987) study on communication and connectedness in parent-adolescent relations, in which two-thirds of their sample were white-collar and one-third were blue collar families, sex and class differences were found. Blue-collar sons described that their mothers knew them to a greater extent than did white-collar sons, while these same subgroups were similar in the extent to which they perceived their fathers knew them.

Blue- and white-collar daughters indicated that their mothers knew them "quite well" (at similar levels; again, data was not reported by the authors), while the blue-collar daughters indicated that their fathers knew them less well than their white-collar counterparts.

In comparing class factors regarding to what extent adolescents were concerned about what their parents thought of them, white-collar adolescents cared similarly about how both of their parents considered them, while blue-collar adolescents cared more about their mothers' opinions of them than their fathers'. These findings support the relative primacy of the mother's relationship (as compared to the father's relationship; e.g., Richardson et al., 1984), especially in blue-collar families.

Kohn (1977) studied class, conformity, and value orientation with a sample of 339 mothers (and, in 82 cases, also with their husbands and fifth grade child), all of whom had a child in the fifth grade. The interviews

focused upon the parents' values, style of discipline, and various aspects of the parent-child relationships.

They found class differences in the traits parents hoped that their offspring would develop, with middle-class parents encouraging their adolescents to individuate and become autonomous, while working-class parents were more likely to encourage their teenagers to conform to external authorities ($p < .05$; an orientation consistent with how these parents are typically expected to conform in their work roles).

Class differences were also found in the value orientation mothers encouraged their children to assume. Middle-class mothers reportedly favored their adolescents assuming less traditional, more androgynous values, while working-class mothers seemed more in favor of their adolescents assuming more traditional, gender-specific values ($p < .05$).

5. Sex differences in adolescent autonomy

In the Small et al. (1987) study on adolescent autonomy and parental stress, while mothers and fathers reportedly experienced similar amounts of stress, contributing factors to that stress were believed to be different depending upon the sex of the parent and of the child. Generally, adolescent autonomy variables were better predictors of parental stress when across-sex dyads were compared. Fathers' stress levels were higher if their daughters' desire for autonomy was greater ($p < .05$) and she did not follow his advice ($p < .01$). Mothers' stress was significantly correlated with their sons' participation in deviant activities ($p < .01$), reluctance to follow their advice ($p < .01$), and their desire for autonomy ($p < .05$).

Some significant findings for same-sex dyads were also found. Fathers' parental stress was significantly correlated to their sons' deviant

involvements ($p < .01$), and mothers' parental stress was significantly correlated to their daughters' desire for autonomy ($p < .05$).

Montemayor and Brownlee (1987) examined gender-based differences in parents' roles with their adolescents. They questioned a group of 61 adolescents in grades 6-12 by telephone about their involvement with each parent and their degree of satisfaction with that involvement. Adolescents were divided into two groups: early adolescence (grades 6-7, average age 12.3 years) and middle adolescence (grades 8-12, average age 16.0 years).

For each activity they reported, the authors also asked who else was present, how long the activity with their parent lasted, and the extent of the adolescent's satisfaction with that activity. Their results showed that these adolescents spent more time in leisure than in work with their fathers, and about equal portions of work and leisure with their mothers.

Early adolescents spent most of their time apart from their parents, followed by a moderate amount of time with their mothers, and the least amount of time with their fathers ($p < .05$). Time adolescents spent with both parents was not significantly different from the amount of time they spent with one parent or the other. Middle adolescents spent the most time with neither parent, a moderate amount of time with their mothers, less time with both parents, and the least amount of time with only their fathers ($p < .05$). Early adolescents spent near equal proportions of time with their parents (.54) as they did apart from them (.46), while middle adolescents spent much less time with their parents (.31) than they did apart from them (.69).

Generally, the adolescents were about equally satisfied with their involvement with each of their parents. They did enjoy working more with their fathers than with their mothers ($p < .05$), perhaps in part because working with their fathers was more of a novelty for them than was working with their mothers. In general, these adolescents were most satisfied with their leisure activities (which they most preferred in their parents' absence) and meals (which they preferred in the presence of both parents), and least satisfied working (which was most preferrable with either both parents or only their fathers present) (all p's $< .05$).

A word of caution about the Montemayor and Brownlee (1987) study is noted here. Their method for data collection was telephone interview with the adolescent about their previous day's activities at home. The accuracy and completeness of this recall information may be questionable.

Cooper and Grotevant (1987) researched how an adolescent's family experiences influenced their sense of self in the context of their dating and friendship experiences. One hundred and twenty-one high school seniors and their parents participated, with the triads observed in an audio recorded "Family Interaction Task," and the adolescents additionally completing an "Ego Identity Interview" (p. 251).

Sex differences were found in how adolescents' dating and friendship patterns were influenced by different patterns of familial interaction. Adolescent girls reportedly had more involvement in dating and friendship relations than did boys ($p < .01$), especially when they reported more separateness in their familial relations ($p < .05$) (including their parent-adolescent relations).

The opposite finding, more dating and friendship involvement correlated with more familial connectedness, was true for adolescent boys. Especially important for the boys was their closeness to their fathers, and the fathers' encouragement of the boys' dating and friendship behaviors.

Cooper and Grotevant (1987) cautioned that many factors besides gender influence adolescent dating and friendship patterns, including the interaction of the adolescents' and their family members' "social and physical environment, family experience, and individual attributes" (p. 261).

Lidz (1969) discussed some factors which may contribute to family discord, and emphasized the necessity for adolescent males to be allowed to assume (at least periodically) some leadership role within the family. He suggested that if adolescent boys do not get ample sanction to exercise such authority, the boy may revolt and act out against the parents and the family. Lidz also noted the importance for girls to be allowed and encouraged to try their "feminine expressive-affectional role" in the family (p. 109). This author notes Lidz' psychoanalytic presentation and the date of his publication in considering his remarks.

Hill et al. (1985) examined the relationship between adolescent daughters' menarchial status (the onset of their menstruation cycle), child-rearing practices, and the quality of parent-adolescent relations. One hundred seventh grade girls and their parents completed questionnaires, examining issues including the date of the daughter's menarche, parental acceptance of the daughter, family rules and standards, involvement in family activities, parental influence, adolescent oppositionalism, and disagreement over rules.

Those girls with early menarche had less involvement with their families, and decreased acceptance of their parents' influence- effects which appeared to persist for more than six months. Those girls with a relatively normal menarche were found to have unsettled parent-adolescent relations approximately six months after menarche, but stabilized relations after six more months had elapsed.

In other words, those girls with early menarche apparently distanced themselves from their families and remained uninvolved with and uninfluenced by their parents over time (i.e., their parent-adolescent relations changed and remained so), while those with normal menarche experienced some familial disequilibrium some months after onset, but stabilized some months after that.

Hill et al. (1985) highlighted the particularly pronounced effect a daughter's menarchial status has upon the mother-daughter relationship.

> If not outright storm, there certainly does appear to be a period of stress and strain in mother-daughter relations shortly after menarche. And if our speculation is correct, such stress and strain may persist in families of early maturing girls. (p. 315)

Steinberg's (1981) longitudinal study examined changes in the relationships between 130 young adolescent males (aged 11-14) and their two parents over the course of a year as a function of the boys' physical maturation (i.e., the onset of puberty). Families were visited three times in their homes, at six month intervals, by two observers, with no families seen by the same observer twice. The families were given different forms (each visit) of a decision-making questionnaire, and then asked to discuss their opinions of the questions raised. Family discussions were taped (though not observed), and interactions between the triads coded. This information

was correlated to an observational measure (completed at each visit) of the son's physical maturation.

Sex differences were evident in his findings. The mother and son became increasingly conflictive as the boy approached the "pubertal apex" ($p < .02$), and then their relationship became more peaceful again- primarily due to changes in the mother's behavior (e.g., her interrupting and confronting him less, and appearing less rigid; $p < .03$) rather than the son's (p. 838). The father's relationship with the son during these pubertal changes was described in terms of the father generally becoming increasingly assertive with his son ($p < .01$), and the son generally responding respectfully.

Steinberg (1981) concluded that a structural shift occurred in the hierarchy of these families, partially influenced by the sons' physical maturation. Before and during the early pubertal stages, the parents were seen on a near equal level of authority, superior to the son. Following the son's pubertal apex, the hierarchy had appeared to have shifted the son to a position of authority somewhere above his mother and below his father. Steinberg's (1981) conceptualization of the adolescent son-parental shift in authority parallels the psychoanalytic position of Lidz (1969).

Steinberg's (1981) method to assess male adolescent maturation (a visual assessment, performed by the interviewers, of the boys' facial and body shape and gait) appears questionable. Steinberg (1981) acknowledged that this method had not been validated with physiological data, but indicated that similar instruments had been used in other research. He also did not indicate whether (and how) this physical

assessment procedure had been standardized, nor any measure of its reliability.

6. Police families and adolescent autonomy

Very little has been published describing parent-adolescent relations in police officers' families, particularly with respect to adolescent individuation and autonomy. Arthur and Elaine Niederhoffer (1978) wrote about their own experiences as a police family and their knowledge of other police families. They suggested that a different, higher set of behavioral standards is sometimes imposed upon police officers' children by their parents or their teachers, as these adults tend to view the children's behavior as a direct reflection of their police officer parent (whose own behavior is expected, by their department and the public, to be exemplary).

As this occurs, police officers' children or adolescents may be discouraged from trying new behaviors and becoming more autonomous. To this extent, police officers' children may share this same dilemma with children of parents in other particular vocations who are expected to maintain high moral standards (e.g., clergymen, doctors, politicians).

Other evidence supporting the hypothesis that police officers' adolescents may face especially stringent behavioral standards from their parents is found in officers' reported inordinate concern with their individual and family's public image. In one of this author's first conversations about police family dynamics, an experienced officer emphasized that one of his greatest concerns about his own adolescent children was that they not get in any trouble at school or with the law, as

this might bring shame to his family, and diminish the public's respect for this particular officer (personal communication, Fall, 1985).

Niederhoffer and Niederhoffer (1978) agreed, acknowledging that most parents (of any occupation) might feel badly if their adolescent broke the law, but that for a police family such an occurrence was "far more devastating. Not only does the adolescent's transgression violate the family's moral code, but it also undermines the police parent's position as an upholder of the laws of society" (p. 151).

Niederhoffer and Niederhoffer (1978) described that police officers' adolescents typically face some special peer pressures due to their parent's authoritative role. One way these adolescents cope with this, they learned, was to not tell others that their parent was a police officer.

Adolescents whose parents work in other occupations may also be self-conscious or even embarrassed about what their parents do for a living. Niederhoffer and Niederhoffer (1978) explained that being an adolescent of a police officer has its own unique qualities:

> Typically in the mid-teens, a sense of their special identity as children of police parents crystallizes. As they move in ever-widening arcs away from the hub of the home, they experience and assimilate controversial concepts of the police image. At this time, the adolescent peer group competes with and sometimes displaces the family as the purveyor of norms and standards, and the role of the parent imperceptibly changes from benevolent protector to restrictive guardian. But for the police child of this age there is a unique blue dimension arising from his contact with law enforcement that colors his personality and values, that gradually solidifies as a result of family interaction and loyalty to the police parent. (p. 143)

Much of what the Niederhoffers (1978) described parallels the changes in parent-adolescent relations identified by other theorists

previously discussed (e.g. Marcia, 1980). Like many other parents, police officers and their spouses are also ambivalent about the balance of priviledge and restrictions with their adolescent(s) (Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, 1978). What may be "unique" about these adolescents' experiences, they suggested, are the particular set of values and interactional style their parent(s) has developed, in part influenced by their role as police officers.

Niederhoffer and Niederhoffer (1978) surveyed 120 male police officers and detectives and 127 wives of policemen and male detectives regarding how important these parents felt it was that their children (of nonspecified age) possessed certain qualities. They found these parents emphasizing obedience and respect for authority (two qualities typically valued of police officers), and mixed support for their children's independence and autonomy.

Actual data were 82 percent of the husbands and 81 percent of the wives describing obedience to one's parents as "very important," while 18 percent of the husbands and 19 percent of the wives categorized this trait as "moderately important" (p. 197). None of those sampled described obedience as "not important."

Proportions were similar when these police parents were asked about wanting their child(ren) to manifest respect for authority, with 85 percent of husbands and 86 percent of wives describing it as very important, 14 percent of each group describing this trait as moderately important, and 1 percent of husbands (and none of the wives) describing respect for authority as not important.

When asked if they wanted their child to be independent, 56 percent of the husbands and 60 percent of the wives described this characteristic as very important, 43 percent of the husbands and 39 percent of the wives described if as moderately important, and 1 percent of each group described independence as as trait they did not perceive as important for their child to develop.

B. Parent-adolescent conflict

1. Introduction

The relative presence or absence of conflict between parents and their adolescents is a complex consideration. The studies reviewed in this section examined a variety of aspects of parent-adolescent conflict, generated numerous definitions of parent-adolescent conflict, and utilized varied research designs and instrumentation. Consequently, conclusions and opinions about parent-adolescent conflict vary (Montemayor, 1986).

Some more recent conceptualizations suggest that there <u>are</u> some families who experience parent-adolescent conflict, and that its effects upon those families vary (e.g., Montemayor, 1983). One popular perspective is that parent-adolescent conflict results, in part, from both parties' ongoing struggle to establish an acceptable balance between parental restrictiveness and permissiveness (Richardson et al., 1984). Given that adolescence is generally considered to be a developmental period when this balance of parental control is in a state of flux (e.g., Steinberg, 1985), it seems likely that the resolution of these (and other) differences in parent and adolescent perspectives affects most families.

2. Variations in parent-adolescent conflict

Raymond Montemayor (1983) recently reviewed the literature on parent-adolescent conflict, and found agreement by most theorists on three points: that adolescence is a time of developmental transitions (e.g., physical, sexual, cognitive, emotional), that adolescents generally "lack mature skills" to optimally cope with these transitions, and consequently that they tend to describe these transitions as stressful for themselves (p. 85).

Montemayor (1983) noted how the overwhelming consensus between researchers during the 1960's and 1970's was that parent-adolescent relations were not stressful or conflictive. In reviewing those studies, his opinion was that some of these studies' conclusions were drawn either without data or based upon evidence which was "not clear cut" (p. 86).

One pattern he found follows the logic of the previously discussed Steinberg (1981) research and Lidz' (1969) opinion- that numerous studies found adolescent boys assuming a more powerful and assertive role in their families which led to increased conflict with their mothers (the parent who had the most contact with these boys at home)- and that over time both parties seemed to adjust and found different, more harmonious ways of interacting.

Montemayor (1983) indicated that most of the studies he reviewed revealed that the foci of parent-adolescent arguments typically pertained to the adolescents' daily responsibilities and activities, and that variations in the amount of parent-adolescent conflict found in different studies appeared directly related to differences in the studies' designs.

He found parents reported that they rarely quarreled with their adolescent when asked in general terms, but when pressed on more specific items of conflict, Montemayor (1983) found parents acknowledging that "moderately upsetting arguments may occur as often as twice a week, and that a large majority of adolescents may be disciplined by their parents weekly" (p. 96).

Montemayor (1983) concluded that some adolescents and some parents are reluctant to reveal information about familial conflict to researchers, especially when these struggles seem to be over rather mundane matters (which the adolescent and/or the parent may not even regard as conflictive). In other words, it is as if a 'code of silence' may exist for some families who participate in some of these studies, a finding supported by Rutter et al. (1976) (cited in Montemayor, 1983).

In a more recent review, Montemayor (1986) emphasized that parent-adolescent conflict is a complex phenomenon, influenced by "family social context, family structure, characteristics of parents and adolescents, and, most importantly, the style of parent-adolescent interaction" (p. 15).

He cited 1974 data from the National Center for Health Statistics, which indicated that "between 15 and 25 percent of parents complain about conflict with their adolescents" (p. 17). Again, it's not known how these parents defined parent-adolescent conflict, but it does suggest that some parents may be concerned about it. Montemayor's (1986) own estimate was that "about 20 percent of parents and adolescents have serious and continual difficulty with each other, and another 20 percent have intermittant relational problems" (p. 18).

Richardson et al.'s (1984) longitudinal study followed 335 early adolescents and their families for three years, examining four aspects of family life, including familial conflict and parental discipline. Overall, these early adolescents portrayed their families as more harmonious than tumultuous. When asked what they would like to change about their families, approximately 39 percent of the boys and 35 percent of the girls responded that they didn't want anything to change, as compared to approximately 4 percent of boys and 7 percent of girls saying they'd like improved parent-adolescent relations, or 12 percent of boys and 14 percent of girls desiring improved relations with their siblings.

Issues which did result in parent-adolescent conflict centered upon issues of "freedom and responsibility," with adolescents viewing their parents' disciplinary measures used to resolve these conflicts as "fair and relatively lenient" (p. 131). In rating their parents' disciplinary strategies from 1 to 5 (where 1 is "very unfair" and 5 is "very fair"), mean ratings for both boys and girls were in the 3.6 to 3.7 range, with standard deviations of approximately 1.0 (p. 149).

Hill (1980) agreed, indicating that even though many normal (nonclinical) families will experience some parent-adolescent conflict during early adolescence, most parent-adolescent dyads "continue to display supportive, and mutual communications" during this period (p. 41).

Hill and Holmbeck (1987) studied parent-adolescent disagreements over family rules. Family rule behavior questionnaires and measures of parental satisfaction and child oppositionalism were completed by the parents of 100 seventh grade boys and 100 seventh grade girls; the

children (these seventh graders) completed a measure of how they perceived their parents' acceptance of them.

They found that the rules were primarily focused upon the adolescents' daily responsibilities (chores, etc.). Correlations between parent-adolescent disagreements and the adolescents' perception of their parents' acceptance of them were negative, though not significant (except for the father-daughter dyad, which was significant). In general, they found both parents and adolescents in their sample reluctant to discuss the adolescents' peer relations, causing them to wonder (consistent with Montemayor, 1983) whether a "conspiracy of silence" may exist between parents and their early adolescent offspring on this issue (p. 241). If true, this reluctance to discuss certain relationships and issues may be yet another factor contributing to the variation in findings on parent-adolescent conflict.

Smollar and Youniss (1985) studied parent-adolescent relations in 48 families where the adolescents (ages 15-18) lived with their divorced mothers (and their fathers were not present). These adolescents completed questionnaires, which examined issues of the adolescent's self-perceptions in the context of various relations, topics of communication (and with whom they would discuss these issues), and the quality of communications in their relations with others.

Their data identified three modal patterns of adolescent realliance with their parents following the couple's divorce. The first group (consisting of 7 males and 8 females) featured the adolescent's general acceptance of the mother and rejection of the father, with those mothers living with daughters described as enmeshed in their relationship. A

second pattern (with 9 males and 8 females) found the adolescent rejecting their mother (with whom they lived) and having mixed acceptance of the father, but generally lacking emotional connectedness with either parent.

The third modal pattern (consisting of 7 males and 9 females) found the adolescent having mixed reactions to both parents, being involved enough with their mothers to get along in daily activities, and reporting some feelings of connectedness to their fathers, while attempting to individuate from both. Smollar and Youniss (1985) suggested that this third pattern was optimal for promoting less conflictive relations in these divorced families as it would promote individuation- "a primary task" required for changes in parent-adolescent relations (p. 143).

3. Adolescents' characteristics contributing to parent-adolescent conflict

Some adolescents' characteristics are considered to contribute to parent-adolescent conflict. Garbarino et al. (1984) studied 62 families, each of which included a young person (aged 10-16) and two parents, who had come to an outpatient clinic for treatment of family problems (described by many of these families as their adolescent having "adjustment problems") (p. 174). A three person assessment team visited each of their families in their homes, utilizing questionnaires, interviews, and observation to gather data. Issues under consideration included the family's risk for "destructive parent-child relations," an examination of the family's interactional patterns, checklists for child and parental behaviors, and assessment of conflict between the parents (p. 174).

They found that families with fewer children were at lower risk for conflictive parent-child relations ($p < .05$). Adolescents in the high risk

group reported a greater tendency for their parents to be "less supportive and more punishing (the high-risk combination)" than did adolescents in the low risk group ($p < .10$), with the adolescents' report of the mothers' behavior fitting this pattern reaching significance ($p < .01$) (p. 179).

Adolescents with educational and/or social developmental problems tended to have more destructive parent-adolescent relations ($p < .05$), to which both they and their parents tended to repond ineffectively. Adolescents in the high risk group for destructive family relations reported more recent changes in their lives ($p < .05$) and their own abuse of substances ($p < .01$).

Garbarino et al. (1984) described families at high risk for destructive family relations (including the occurrence of physical violence) to have "a formidable set of enduring potentiating factors (e.g., chronic internalized developmental problems, positive values and attitudes concerning coercion, and a 'chaotically enmeshed' interpersonal system) and are thus vulnerable as the child enters adolescence" (p. 181).

Hill and Holmbeck (1987) found parent-adolescent disagreements over family rules to be correlated with how "oppositional" they rated their adolescent to be (p. 221). The adolescents' oppositionalism primarily centered upon their own personal habits. Hill and Holmbeck (1987) interpreted that these parents considered these issues to be more permanent, something that their teenager "ought to have learned" by this time in their life, and therefore were more put off by their adolescent's oppositional stance than if the disagreements had been regarding more transitional issues (e.g., adolescent peer relationships) (p. 242).

Montemayor (1986) found that adolescents who had frequent conflict with their parents tended to: spend more time with their peers, have a greater tendency towards delinquency and substance use/abuse, be more likely to have premarital sexual relations, and be more likely to have low self-esteem, depressive symptomatology, and suicidal ideation.

He reported that typical parental complaints were that their adolescents were "[noncompliant, resistant, and obstinate]" (p. 17). Younger adolescents (aged 10-15) had more conflictive parent-adolescent relations than did older adolescents. Adolescents with behavioral problems, other varied illnesses (e.g., eating disorders or other serious health concerns), or physical handicaps were found to have "poorer relations" with their parents than other adolescents (Montemayor, 1986, p. 21). Montemayor (1986) indicated that it is not clear whether these adolescent characteristics contribute to or are caused by parent-adolescent conflict, or both.

4. Parents' characteristics contributing to parent-adolescent conflict

While there is some variation as to the age when parents bear their children, many begin their families sometime during their twenties, meaning that by the time their oldest children are entering adolescence these parents are in their mid to late thirties (Steinberg, 1985). Some theorists have argued, from a developmental perspective, that these parents are also experiencing their own physical and emotional changes as they approach the chronological midpoint in their lives, an experience sometimes referred to as the "midlife crisis" (e.g., Levinson et al, 1978, p. 159; Rubin, 1976, 1979).

What some of these changes are and how they affect mothers and fathers as adults and as parents is discussed in the next section of this chapter, on parental well-being. The following paragraphs highlight several reviews and studies which have drawn from this adult developmental research, identifying some parental characteristics (some of which may be related to these midlife transitions, and others which are influenced by other factors) which may contribute to increased parent-adolescent conflict.

Hill's (1980) review of early adolescence noted that this period is often a time of increased marital dissatisfaction for some of the parents. If this is true, it is still difficult to know, in a general sense, what factors contribute to what outcomes. Are parents dissatisfied in their marriages because of the purported developmental transitions and period of self-reflection they're experiencing, and those feelings then contribute to increased parent-adolescent conflict, or does parent-adolescent conflict cause parents to feel dissatisfied with their marriages, and consequently to question what's happening in their lives (i.e., to have midlife identity concerns)? Or are there some combinations of factors contributing to parent-adolescent conflict?

This author's opinion, from five years clinical experience working with more than 100 families (inpatient and outpatient), is that these are very difficult determinations to make, and that for many families some or all of these factors may contribute to parent-adolescent conflict.

Garbarino et al.'s (1984) investigation of the characteristics of a clinical population of parents with adolescents found that important issues in these conflictive families were parental control and boundaries (i.e., physical and emotional separateness between parents/adults and

youngsters). Parents rated as being at greater risk for destructive parent-adolescent relations were described as either "enmeshed" (i.e., being too closely involved with their adolescents) or "chaotic" (i.e., not having adequate control of their home situation, including establishing and maintaining a safe balance in family members' behavior and in family relations) (p. 174).

Garbarino et al. (1984) found that conflictive families were more likely to include at least one stepparent, meaning that those youngsters conceived from their parents' previous relationship(s) had experienced a separation and divorce, and then a remarriage and blending of the family. Other characteristics of parents in these families with conflictive parent-adolescent relations included the parents reporting a higher level of life stress, and their utilizing a more punitive, less supportive disciplinary approach (consistent with Baumrind's (1968, 1978) discussion).

Montemayor (1986) agreed that more peaceful parent-adolescent relations were fostered in those families in which: both natural parents were present, neither of the parents had been separated or divorced, and the family had not been blended (i.e., children from other marriages joining the family). He also identified parents' style of discipline as a key factor in preventing or contributing to parent-adolescent conflict.

Montemayor (1986) also described that acute or chronic psychiatric symptomatology or substance use or abuse by either of the parents appeared to contribute to parent-adolescent conflict. Alcoholic fathers have been found to be more physically and sexually abusive to children and adolescents, and families in which abuse by either the parents or by the adolescent contributes to greater parent-adolescent conflict.

5. Sex differences in parent-adolescent conflict

In past decades, researchers have tended to consider parent-child and parent-adolescent relations in more generic terms, i.e., without reference to the gender of either party. A recent special issue of the Journal of Youth and Adolescence (1987) was entirely devoted to sex differences in adolescents' family relations.

In the introduction to that issue, Steinberg (1987) suggested that researchers are now more specific in identifying which of the four dyads (mother-son, father-son, mother-daughter, father-daughter) they are referring to when they discuss parent-adolescent relations. Following are findings from various studies (some from that special issue) which identify some of the differences in parent-adolescent conflict on the basis of gender.

Parents' style of discipline may affect the frequency and intensity of conflict they may experience with their adolescent (Garbarino et al., 1984). Bronfenbrenner (1961) studied sex differences in parent-adolescent dyads, sampling 400 tenth grade students and their teachers. Their data was generated from the adolescents describing various dimensions of their relationships with their parents on a questionnaire, and the teachers rating each of the students in terms of their responsibility and leadership qualities.

They found that both parents (though especially fathers) were more likely to punish their same-sex adolescents while defending their opposite sex-adolescents ($p < .01$). In describing disciplinary tactics used by both parents, sons said that their parents were more likely to use physical punishment with them (especially their fathers), though at the same time encouraging the son's aggressiveness and independence. Daughters

indicated that their parents tended to be less strict and more affectionate on the whole, but when discipline was administered it seemed more restrictive and abrupt than the interventions the boys receive.

The implication of Bronfenbrenner's (1961) findings, that different parental styles and balances of discipline are used with sons as compared to daughters, is that how parent-adolescent conflict erupts for daughters may be different than it is for sons. They did not indicate how often or in what circumstances parents struggle with their sons, as they hold a tight rein of control over him (while still encouraging him to be aggressive and independent- seemingly a mixed message). The chance of parent-daughter conflict seems particularly ripe, with the reported intense, contrasting parental reactions to the daughter's overstepping her bounds.

Parental role demands appear to change from when a child is younger to when they enter adolescence. Veroff and Feld (1970) studied a wide range of issues concerning marriage, parenting, and work experiences, sampling 2,460 adults (21 years old or older) across the United States. Subjects were interviewed in their homes, using standardized interviews.

They found that as children grow older, the balance in parents' behaviors of nurturing and influencing children (shared similarly by both parents when the children are younger) shifts for the parents. Fathers reportedly become less involved in influencing the adolescent and more focused upon nurturing them, whereas the mothers are more involved in influencing and socializing the adolescent.

No doubt the mother's more primary role in shaping the adolescent's behavior speaks to the greater amount of time (compared with the father) she likely spends with the adolescent. Veroff and Feld (1970) suggested

that parent-adolescent conflict may result if the mothers' and fathers' complementary roles become disproportionate or imbalanced.

Steinberg's (1981) study on changes in male adolescent-parent relations on the basis of the son's physical and sexual maturation noted differences in the mother's and father's response to their son (similar to Bronfenbrenner, 1961, above). While fathers became increasingly strict with their sons from early to late adolescence and reportedly had relatively peaceful relations, mothers had more conflictive relations with their sons- especially near his pubertal apex. Steinberg (1981) said that this conflict does diminish between mother and son following the apex, primarily due to the mother confronting the son less, and supposedly relinquishing some of her authority in the family.

Hauser et al. (1987) studied sex differences in the communication patterns of parents and their adolescents. Their sample included 40 high school students (average age 14.5 years old) and their parents, and 39 psychiatrically hospitalized adolescents (average age 14.4 years old) and their parents. The adolescents completed an ego development measure, and the parent-adolescent triads were observed participating in a structured discussion, in which the individuals' different moral values were measured and revealed, and the family then asked to defend and discuss their opinions, and to try to reach a consensus.

They found adolescents preferring to converse with their fathers ($p < .07$), to problem solve with him ($p < .05$), and to be more accepting of what the fathers had to say to them ($p < .006$). Mothers were found to be more "constraining" than the fathers ($p < .07$), evidenced by them interrupting and distracting their adolescents (p. 216).

In considering this finding, it is important to note the context of the task through which the data was recorded. These patterns were observed in a "semistructured, revealed differences family discussion" (p. 200). This author wonders if this finding is truly representative of differences in mothers' and fathers' conflict with their teens (in their conversations), or whether it may be influenced by this sample's mothers being more self-conscious (and thus more confrontive and reprimanding) of the teen's behavior than the fathers were because their discussion was being recorded by the experimenters .

In Richardson et al.'s (1984) longitudinal study of parent-adolescent relations, mothers were found to be more responsible than fathers for perpetuating the relatively peaceful parent-adolescent relationships.

Lidz (1969) hypothesized that young adolescent males would "rouse [their] siblings to rebelliousness and defiance" of the parents if the parents did not allow the adolescent son to progressively assume more authority and take more of a leadership role within the family (p. 109). His psychoanalytically based discussion made no mention of adolescent girls initiating parent-adolescent conflict, as he suggested that girls might "live out the feminine expressive-affectional role with [their] family" (p. 109).

Hill and Holmbeck's (1987) study of early adolescent-parent disagreement on family rules noted the strongest (and only statistically significant, $p < .05$) finding of a negative correlation between parent-adolescent rule disagreement and the adolescent's impression of their parent's acceptance of them to be in the father-daughter dyad. This finding, again, concurs with some of the other studies reviewed here which

suggest greater conflict and tension between across-sex parent-adolescent dyads.

Montemayor (1986) described that adolescents tend to have more arguments with their mothers than with their fathers. Mothers were reported to have more conflict with their daughters than they did with their sons (though this may be due, in part, to the mothers spending more time with the daughters than with their sons at this stage in the adolescent's life). Mothers becoming employed outside of their homes also contributed to increased parent-adolescent conflict, especially with their sons.

6. Differences in parent-adolescent conflict according to social class

Some studies have found a family's social class to be related to various aspects of parent-adolescent conflict. Jacob (1974) studied familial conflict patterns with 44 adolescent boys (11 each from 5th, 6th, 10th, and 11th grades) and their mothers and fathers, using an unrevealed differences technique focused upon the individual family members perspective on their family.

They found both the age of the child and the family's socioeconomic status to be significantly related to the dynamic of the conflict. Middle-class families attempted to interrupt more often than lower-class families ($p < .10$). Total family disagreement (according to the individually completed questionnaires on family functioning) was greater in lower-class families than in middle-class families ($p < .05$). Middle-class families talked for longer periods of time (during this experimental task) than did lower-class families ($p < .05$).

Lower-class parents compromised more with their adolescent than did middle-class parents ($p < .005$) and, specifically, lower-class fathers and sons compromised more than middle-class fathers and sons ($p < .05$). Lower-class fathers were also "significantly" less influential than were middle-class fathers in the presence of an "adolescent-age child" (Jacob, 1974, p. 8; level of significance not reported).

In middle-class families, adolescent boys became more dominant in family discussions as they grew older, and their mothers became less involved (consistent with Steinberg's (1981) findings). In lower-class families, as the adolescent boy's involvement and assumption of authority increased, the father's parental involvement decreased. This finding suggests that lower-class mothers may assume an increasingly dominant parental role as their adolescent ages, and middle-class fathers assume the dominant position of authority in middle-class families as their teenage child grows older.

Richardson et al.'s (1984) findings that adolescents perceived their families as more harmonious than tumultuous may well have been influenced by that sample's status: a predominantly white, middle to upper middle-class sample, many of whom (45 percent) were Jewish. Cherlin and Celebuski (cited in Richardson et al., 1984) suggested that Jewish parents tend to encourage their adolescents to become more autonomous and self-directing.

Bronfenbrenner (1961) found that lower-class adolescents rated their mothers as "dominating, demanding, and materialistic," and reported that their fathers spent less time with them "in purposeful activities," and were "less principled in their discipline techniques" (p. 250). Once again

this author cautions that the middle-class students in Bronfenbrenner's (1961) study may have withheld information about conflict in their families (as other studies, e.g., Hill & Holmbeck, 1987, have suggested), making these perceived differences artificial or exaggerated. One might also question if the reverse may be true- that some lower class adolescents and/or their parents may exaggerate the parent-adolescent conflict present in their families when questioned by researchers.

Montemayor (1986) named ethnicity as a factor influencing parent-adolescent conflict. This author's clinical experience suggests, for example, some tendency for families of Italian heritage to argue more with each other, while some families of Scandanavian heritage tend to repress their disagreements. Some aspects of poverty (e.g., the family's limited positive interactions with friends, and predominantly dependent relations with helping agencies' personnel) have been negatively correlated with parent-child relations. Finally, low socioeconomic status has been found to be highly correlated with child and adolescent abuse.

7. Recommendations for decreasing and preventing parent-adolescent conflict

Some of the authors of the studies reviewed in this section on parent-adolescent conflict drew some conclusions as to how parent-adolescent conflict might be either minimized or optimally responded to by the parents.

Montemayor (1983) suggested that some parent-adolescent conflict may be "essential" to help the adolescent transition in his or her relationship with their parents (p. 98) (consistent with Anna Freud, 1958). Even "infrequent [parent-adolescent] conflict," he suggested, will likely

result in some shifting of associational patterns within the family, a situation which this author suggests is more prone to conflictive relations (p. 97). His conclusion that a high degree of parent-adolescent conflict leads to clinical problems which affect all family members (e.g., abuse, divorce, psychiatric disorders) supports the recommendation for family therapy when conflict becomes unmanagable for the parents and/or their offspring.

The other deduction from Montemayor's (1983) discussion of how some families (particularly middle and upper-class families) seem to maintain a 'code of silence' about their families' conflict is that some clinical methods could be employed to help these families (both remedially and preventively) even when they are initially reluctant to acknowledge that their family is experiencing conflictive relations.

This might include, for example, multiple family groups focused upon helping families improve their relations (rather than an emphasis that families participate because they must have 'some serious problems'). This author's experience coleading these groups supports the hypotheses that hearing other families discuss their concerns and ask their questions may empower those families who are withholding information to be more candid with themselves and with others who can help them.

In a more recent review, Montemayor (1986) suggested that family relations are improved when: parents and adolescents spend some time together (to a certain extent), the family works towards promoting more positive relations among themselves, and when family members learn to consistently and effectively resolve major differences when they arise, before more serious problems arise.

Lidz (1969) emphasized that a family becomes particularly vulnerable to increased conflict and chaos when their adolescent verbally attacks a parent's character and behavior. If the parents are firm, only tolerate such an attack within some limits, and are, in fact, of good moral character (so that the adolescent's criticism is not based upon fact), then the problem is usually resolved without continued conflict.

When an adolescent does learn about major shortcomings in their parent's character (e.g., infidelity, substance abuse, criminal activity, lieing) the adolescent's view of the parent as a role model is undermined and family relations deteriorate. When parents deny their wrongdoing (e.g., as many alcoholics have been known to do) the adolescent seriously questions whether it is they themselves who are crazy (Lidz, 1969).

Bronfenbrenner (1961) noted the need for parents to maintain a delicate balance between authority and affection in raising adolescent daughters, and to provide "adequate emotional support and, especially, firm authority" to keep boys from fighting with their parents.

Hill (1980), Pikas (1961), and Garbarino et al. (1984) all concurred that Baumrind's (1968) 'authoritative' parenting style (firm authority with some structure, but also empathic, compassionate, and understanding) helps to minimize parent-adolescent conflict and to promote more complete adolescent autonomy.

8. Police families and parent-adolescent conflict

As was described for the earlier section discussing adolescent autonomy in police families, no empirical studies of parent-adolescent relationships in police families were found by this author. Stratton's (1984) analysis of police officers' development suggested that adolescence "can be

a trying time for all involved" in police families, though he offered no data to support his statement (p. 172).

Niederhoffer and Niederhoffer (1978) described that police officer fathers draw upon characteristics from their profession (strict control, an "occupational mystique [which] personified power") in raising their children, and argued that police fathers, "more than other fathers," are upset by their adolescent children seeking autonomy. Does this necessarily imply that police officers (and their spouses) have an inordinate amount of conflict in their parent-adolescent relations?

The Niederhoffers (1978) didn't directly address that question, but the parent-adolescent scenario they portrayed in police families suggested that this may be the case. They described police officers as more rigid than other parents, more reluctant to allow their adolescent children increased freedom and priviledges. Their argument was supported by the theory that police officers see young people (and others) in trouble as a function of their work role, and are thus more reluctant than others to allow their adolescents to take risks that seem more reasonable to other parents. The outcome of this parental rigidity, they suggested, is that "most" of the officers' adolescents "resent it, and they become increasingly aware that the parent's job imposes certain regulations and limitations on their lives that others do not have to face" (p. 144).

One officer's daughter they interviewed reported,"My father always had a kind of [protective] string on the kids. He's suspicious of everybody. He'll give my boyfriends the third degree. I felt trapped" (Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, 1978, p. 144). Another officer's teenager reported his angry

outburst as he argued with his father,"Go ahead and hit me with your nightstick! You're not my father. You're nothing but a cop!" (p. 145).

Niederhoffer and Niederhoffer (1978) asked 120 patrolmen and male detectives and 127 wives of patrolmen and detectives whether they thought police officers' families experienced "more problems" than other families. The majority (69 percent of husbands, 63 percent of wives) said that they did, while 29 percent of husbands and 37 percent of the wives perceived police families as having the same number of problems as others, and 2 percent of husbands (and none of the wives) described police families as having fewer problems.

These same samples plus samples of 31 sons and 31 daughters of police officers were asked about the police parent's parenting style. The majority of all four groups described the officer parent as flexible (80 percent of the husbands, 72 percent of the wives, 86 percent of the sons, and 75 percent of the daughters; Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, 1978).

Even as these questions about parenting style and extent of family problems do not specifically refer to parent-adolescent conflict in police families, their responses are consistent with what others (e.g., Kroes, 1985; Baker, 1985) have suggested (but have <u>not</u> empirically substantiated) typify parent-adolescent relations in police families: inordinate control struggles between police officer parent and adolescent, and then one of two modal adolescent behavioral responses- repression or angry defiance.

It is still unclear, however, whether police families in general or even some portion of police officers' families do, in fact, have more conflictive parent-adolescent relations than does the general public. Though it may not be directly related to parent-adolescent conflict, a sample of 33 police

chaplains (clergymen who were affiliated with a police department, and spent time providing services to the officers, their families, and to the public) were asked about their general perceptions of how well "adjusted" police officers' children (again, of no specific age) seemed compared with children in the general public (Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, 1978, p. 213). From their perspective as service providers working closely with police officers and their families, 94 percent of the chaplains viewed these children as "about the same in adjustment" as children in the general population (Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, 1978, p. 213).

C. Parental well-being

1. Introduction

One of the primary issues examined by Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) was parental well-being. The four specific aspects of parental well-being they measured were: the parents' general life satisfaction, their self-esteem, their midlife concerns, and their depressive psychological symptomatology. Their goal (as will be discussed in the separate Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) review, following this section) was to learn how the parent-adolescent relationship related to their sample's parents in these four aspects of their lives.

As with the other major topics discussed in this chapter (adolescent autonomy, and parent-adolescent conflict), opinions of how parents fare during the middle years of their lives- when their children are entering and proceeding through adolescence- are mixed.

Some reviewers have portrayed the midlife decade as primarily satisfying and stable for men and women (e.g., Nydegger, 1976), while

others have identified midlife developmental transitions faced by men (e.g., Levinson et al., 1978; Vaillant, 1977; Farrell & Rosenberg, 1981a, 1981b; Neugarten, 1976) and women (e.g., Barnett & Baruch, 1978; Rubin, 1979) as pervasive, significantly affecting them individually, and influencing their spousal and familial relations.

This section will review each of these four aspects of parental well-being at midlife, citing from books and studies which discuss these issues in the context of parent-adolescent relations.

2. General life satisfaction

This variable refers to how the adult is currently feeling about their current life situation, in general (Silverberg & Steinberg, 1987). As noted above, Nydegger (1976) concluded that studies she reviewed with middle-aged adult samples generally reported their midlife decade (age 40-50) to be stable and satisfying. She warned that all of the studies from which she drew her conclusions had samples comprised of middle-class white adults, which suggests that her conclusions may not apply to other racial and socioeconomic groups.

Nydegger (1976) also indicated that women reported feeling much more stressed than their husbands over the process of their children leaving home at the end of adolescence (Thurnher, cited in Nydegger, 1976), but that this stress did not deter from the mothers' self-confidence or ability to effectively function in the world. The parents' acknowledgment that they were "[relieved]" to enjoy the "freedom of the empty nest" and that they were looking forward to "even better times ahead" suggests that their middle years may not have been as totally satisfying as was noted (p. 138).

Neugarten (1976) questioned 100 women regarding their reactions to their adolescent children leaving home. She found these women to have higher levels of life satisfaction than found among other women (data and levels of significance were not presented). Apparently for the women in that study, "coping with [adolescents] at home was more taxing and stressful than having their [adolescents] married and launched into society" (p. 19). While this is not a direct measure of women's life satisfaction during their child's early adolescence, it is some indication that this period was difficult for these mothers.

Glenn's (1975) review of six national surveys resulted in the same finding, that women whose older adolescents left home reported feeling happier and enjoying life more (including their marital relationship) than those women whose adolescents remained living at home.

Anderson et al. (1983) questioned 196 married women about various aspects of their marital relationships in the context of their family's life cycle. They found that the stage of a family's life cycle and the number of children in the family are significant predictors of marital happiness ($p < .01$ and $p < .05$, respectively), which certainly speaks to an adult's general life satisfaction. Perceived marital quality was found to follow a U-shaped pattern in the family life cycle- better at earlier and later stages in the family life cycle, and with poorer marital quality during the time when the children were adolescents.

Hoffman and Manis (1978) interviewed 1,569 wives and a subsample of their husbands (456) about their attitudes toward their children, questioning how intact families' children may influence the interactions between parents and the parents' overall life satisfaction.

They found wide variation in parents' reactions to their children entering adolescence, ranging from pleasure to feeling extremely disappointed, depending in part upon the child's developmental and maturational patterns.

Parents whose oldest child was 13-18 years old indicated that some of the disadvantages of having children included their own loss of freedom (noted by 33 percent of the wives and 32 percent of the husbands), financial costs of raising a child (40 percent of the wives, 43 percent of the husbands), increased marital stress (3 percent of the wives, and 2 percent of the husbands), and worrying about their child's health and safety (21 percent of wives, and 24 percent of the husbands).

Of particular significance is how fathers whose oldest child was a teenager differed in their concern about their children's health and safety depending upon the age of their youngest child. Only 6.3 percent of fathers whose youngest child was less than five mentioned this concern, as opposed to 19.6 percent whose youngest was 5-12 years old, and 46.7 percent whose children were all in the 13-18 year old bracket. In other words, as the family's life cycle stage proceeds toward most of the children becoming adolescents and, in theory, taking more responsibility for themselves, the fathers become significantly more worried about their adolescents' health and safety.

Hoffman and Manis (1978) described that it was in families in which at least one child had reached adolescence that the mothers "were most likely to indicate that children are 'a lot of worry' " (p. 208- data not presented). Further questioning of these parents revealed that they were most worried about their adolescents being involved in an accident, plus

additional anxiety raised when their teenager was away from home (and what the parents perceived to be the adolescent's increased vulnerability to peer pressure regarding substance abuse, sexual behavior, and delinquency). Parents were reportedly most worried about their adolescent daughters, particularly around issues of the daughter's sexual vulnerability.

Lillian Rubin's (1976) series of interviews with working-class families revealed a different modal family dynamic than the more stable and satisfying portrayal of midlife some of the studies with caucasion middle and upper middle-class samples have depicted (e.g., Nydegger, 1976). Her presentation was primarily descriptive and illustrative, and included little empirical data.

She described that in working class families, the husband reportedly maintains a position in the family hierarchy superior to the wife. Different than professional middle and upper-middle class families, these wives also have little or no role in helping their husbands advance socially (e.g., attending company social functions, as higher class wives do). Rubin's (1976) description of the wife's world is that she raises the children and manages their household, and that there are few opportunities for her outside of that role. In addition, she reported that the wife's opinions on any subject are typically not valued by the husband or others outside the family.

Rubin (1976) acknowledged that she interviewed some working-class husbands who expressed some empathy for their wives' role limitations. Twice as many husbands and wives described the husband's life as simpler than the wife's compared to those who thought the converse.

As the husbands discussed this issue in Rubin's (1976) interviews, she described that they were "mildly regretful" but assumed that there was no way that they could help improve their wives' life situation (p. 100). The wives reportedly reacted "with a heated frustration- angry that life is thus and wondering how they can change it" (p. 100).

Working class wives in Rubin's (1976) study described that they were not simply angry that they had to do so much work during this period of raising children and adolescents, but that they were particularly troubled by "the very shape and structure of their lives, the sense that in every way they bear the responsibility for the family -its present and future" (p. 105). Rubin (1976) noted that these wives reported that they suppressed their feelings of life dissatisfaction, out of deference for their husbands and because they realized that their life situations could be worse (e.g., their husbands could be unemployed, abusive, or substance abusers).

As will be articulated in the upcoming subsection on parental well-being in police families, Rubin's (1976) description is more typical of the research on police families. It also provides a contrasting, more distressed view of adult midlife than do some of the other studies (particularly the earlier studies of the 1960's and 70's) in which the samples were predominantly middle- and upper middle-class.

Levinson et al.'s (1978) study of middle-aged men (described in the upcoming subsection on parents' midlife concerns) highlights many developmental changes these men (like their adolescents) are believed to face during their transition from one developmental stage to another (in their case, from early adulthood to late adulthood). Like Rubin's (1976)

book, Levinson et al.'s (1978) presentation is based upon empirical data, but it is not included in their presentation.

Levinson et al. (1978) described that during this period a man's marriage "is different, for better or worse. His children are growing up and family life is taking new forms. His parents have died or become more dependent, and this has considerable impact upon [the man's] role as son and family member" (p. 194).

Other changes found to occur during this period in a man's life included changes in the man's role in his work place (as many men typically reach plateaus in their employer's hierarchy at this time in their careers), plus possible changes in the man's social outlook, his personal value orientation, and in his goals for what he wants to leave for others and what he wants to become. All of these considerations, Levinson et al. (1978) suggested, are fueled by the midlife transitional process middle-aged men experience.

3. Parents' self-esteem in midlife

In this study, parental self-esteem refers to one's "feelings of self-worth" (Silverberg & Steinberg, 1987, p. 300). Ballenski and Cook (1982) questioned 157 mothers who were in different periods of their family life cycles, and asked them about their parenting role. Mothers' perceptions of their competency in parenting tasks were assessed for each parenting stage (i.e., mothers with children in infancy, toddlerhood, preschool, school-age, and adolescence).

They learned that mothers of adolescents perceived themselves as least effective. These mothers gave the largest percentage of responses in which they perceived themselves as incompetent parents when compared

with mothers in other life cycle stages (specific data not included). Nearly half of the mothers indicated that they struggled in disciplining their adolescents (40 percent) and in coping with their teen's "moodiness" (47 percent; p. 492). While this may not be a direct measure of self-esteem, Chilman (cited in Ballenski & Cook, 1982) found that parent's feelings of competency was "significantly related to [adults'] satisfaction with this role" (p. 493).

Veroff and Feld (1970) found parents feeling increasingly insecure as their children enter adolescence. Drawing from their empirical study (described earlier), they concluded that for some parents, "a sense of power weakness can mushroom either at adolescence or when children leave home- especially among fathers. The latter stages of fatherhood in modern America are more likely to be sources of increased power frustrations than of increased power gratification" (p. 205). As with Ballenski and Cook's (1982) finding with mothers of adolescents, it also appears that this developmental transition includes some insecurities for (and thereby challenges the self-esteem of) some of these fathers.

Rubin (1979) interviewed a group of women regarding their midlife experiences. Her report was similar to her writings on working-class families (Rubin, 1976), in that her discussions and illustrations were not presented with empirical data. Rubin (1979) found that as a woman's children reached adolescence, the mother realized that they depended upon her to a lesser extent and in different ways than they had previously.

Raising children has been many women's chief role, Rubin (1979) described, providing the foundation for these mothers' identities. As their children reach adolescence, she explained, these mothers are now pressed

to find a new sense of identity, often integrating some new and different responsibilities outside of their home.

Consistent with Ballenski and Cook's (1982) findings, Rubin's (1979) descriptions implied that mothers' self-esteem during their midlife is tenuous and somewhat threatened, depending upon each woman's ability to adapt to the ongoing changes in her parental role during her offspring's adolescence. The observation that many mothers consistently put their families' needs and interests ahead of their own at least pointed to their unselfishness, if not their perception that others are, in fact, more important than they are (Rubin, 1979).

Rubin (1979) supported that point in noting the tendency for women she interviewed to put their husbands' and childrens' plans ahead of their own, and that these women perceived that they must uphold more stringent behavioral standards than are expected of other family members (husbands or children). Numerous middle-aged women reportedly described that their years of consistently making sacrifices for others (and very few for themselves) has contributed to their lack of self-confidence. Rubin (1979) did not cite what percentage of her sample felt this way, nor the degree to which their self-concepts had diminished.

Rubin (1979) explained that as these women have generally deprived themselves of and suppressed many outside interests throughout much of their lives, "by midlife it feels as if they never existed" (p. 118). From these two perspectives, the views that middle-aged mothers' self-esteem is rather poor and that it is in transition at this time of their lives seems supported.

Neugarten's (1976) examination of the developmental issues of both middle-aged mothers and fathers suggested that the interactions of adult and adolescent developmental transitions "call forth changes in self-concept and in sense of identity [for the parents], they mark the incorporation of new social roles, and accordingly they are precipitants to new adaptations" (p. 18). As with Rubin's (1976, 1979) discussion, her emphasis seemed to be upon changes experienced by the parents in how they interacted in their roles with others, and their effectiveness in those modified roles. It seems apparent that such changes would affect one's 'feelings of self worth.'

Colarusso and Nemiroff (1982) identified similar changes in their theoretical profile of middle-aged men:

> The individuation of adolescent children, their movement from psychological and physical dependence to young adulthood, forces a reworking of the internal representation within the self of the father's role. He must transform the representation of himself as protector, and caretaker of young children, and replace it with a different fathering identity as an interested facilitator, perhaps not as necessary or powerful. (p. 324)

Farrell and Rosenberg (1981b) interviewed 200 men between the ages of 25 and 30 (representing men who had "passed through the adolescent identity diffusion stage") and 300 men between ages 38 and 48 (representing men "moving through the phase of transition from being young adults to being middle-aged") (p. 6). In their two hour interviews, the men were asked about their work role identity, their relations with others, their "sense of oneness" with the community, and questions regarding their ego integration. Twenty of these men also participated in follow-up interviews, in which their other family members also participated.

Their data indicated that some men don't make this change smoothly, and that this may result in "emotional difficulty" (another blow to the father's self-esteem) which is manifested in these fathers' more authoritarian attitudes ($p < .01$), and in "rigidity and punitiveness" towards their adolescents (p. 142).

In summary, while some groups of parents (particularly middle and upper middle-class) have reported to have relatively positive self-esteem during their midlife period raising their adolescent(s), numerous other sources suggest that, at least for working-class families, the developmental transitions for both men and women greatly challenge their self-esteem. Working-class mothers, in particular, were described to have rather poor views of themselves.

4. Parents' midlife identity concerns

In this study, parental midlife identity concerns refer to "the degree to which parents are experiencing a period of re-evaluation of their life situation, their life choices, and themselves," and differs from self-esteem in that it is focused on "self-reflection and introspection," whereas self-esteem is more concerned with "self-evaluation" (Silverberg & Steinberg, 1987, p. 301).

As with the other variables discussed in this chapter, varying opinions have been expressed as to whether or not middle-aged adults reevaluate their lives and themselves in their life context. Neugarten (1976) described adult midlife as a period of self-reflection and introspection for both parents. Benedek (1959) suggested that as parents observe and share in their adolescent's developmental transitions, complementary developmental issues are also raised for them.

Benedek's (1959) psychoanalytic perspective suggested that at least some of parents' midlife developmental concerns are unconscious, and are influenced by what these parents' own experiences were like when they were adolescents, attempting to individuate from their own parents. Consistent with Blos' (1967) theory on individuation, Benedek (1959) suggested that parents are confronted by these similar developmental issues twice- once in their own adolescence, and again as parents observing and interacting with their adolescents.

Hill's (1980) review of literature on family relations suggested that changes in family relations during adolescence result from developmental changes in both adolescents and their parents. Steinberg's (1985) examination of adolescence identified three sets of complementary issues which adolescents and their middle-aged parents (aged 35-45) supposedly consider during this same point in their family life cycle.

First were issues of "biological change," with adolescents growing, becoming stronger, better coordinated, more physically and sexually mature and attractive, and adults' losing some of their endurance and strength, questioning their appearance as their hair thins or greys and their waistline expands, and wondering if their mate and/or others still consider them to be attractive (Steinberg, 1985, p. 135).

A second set of issues referred to adolescents' and adults' "perceptions of time and the future" (Steinberg, 1985, p. 135). Proceeding through adolescence, a young person's cognitive abilities improve, expanding their use of logic and their capacity and willingness to consider the future. In a sense, the young person realizes that they have their

whole adult lives ahead of them, and the opportunities for them seem numerous.

Conversely, the middle-aged adult realizes that they are at or beyond what is likely to be the chronological midpoint of their lives. Rather than thinking about their life in terms of how long they have lived (as adolescents tend to do), the midlife transitional adult now begins to think about their own mortality, and how long they have left to live. These issues are heightened as their own parents age and/or die, and other members of their parents' generation also pass away. Their opportunities seem more limited, and choices are made as to what the adults would like to try to accomplish in their remaining years.

The third set of parallel developmental issues concerns "power, status, and entrance into the roles of adulthood" (Steinberg, 1985, p. 136). Adolescents are in a position in life where they are gaining in power and status (compared with previous limitations imposed by parents and others), and see their opportunities as numerous. Conversely, midlife adults have typically reached plateaus in their careers, and are finding themselves reflecting upon the limitations of their power and status in light of the choices they made earlier in their lives. Steinberg (1985) concluded that adolescents' and adults' complementary developmental issues will likely influence family relations, necessitating a series of realignments in family relationships.

Rubin (1976) explained that midlife finds some couples experiencing marital discord because their spousal relationship has failed to realign.

> This is the dilemma of modern marriage- experienced at all class levels, but with particular acuteness among the working class families I met. For once marriage is conceived of as more than an

> economic arrangement- that is, one in which the emotional needs of the individual are attended to and met- the role segregation and the consequent widely divergent socialization patterns for women and men become clearly dysfunctional. (p. 116)

To paraphrase Rubin (1976), midlife adults find that they have different emotional needs at this time in their lives, needs which are not satisfactorily fulfilled by previously (and, often, traditionally) segregated roles in their marriage. These unmet needs may result in emotional problems for the individuals and for their marriage. She claimed that this finding is especially true for working class couples, who have typically learned to suppress and deny their emotional needs (further hampering the realignment of the spousal relationship).

For some middle-aged mothers, midlife is a time when they enter (or reenter) the work force, transitioning from their previous primary role of mother and homemaker to outside employment. Some of these women share their adolescents' anxieties and concerns regarding securing a job and earning others' approval (Steinberg, 1985). Rubin (1979) agreed that the question dominating the minds of many midlife women concerns what they are going to do with the remainder of their lives.

Neugarten (1976) remarked that the anticipation and onset of menopause has historically been considered as "one of the most critical events of [a woman's] middle years" (p. 18). She tested the accuracy of that statement by interviewing 100 women who were anticipating or had experienced menopause, and found that more than eighty percent of the menopausal women "attributed little or no change or discontinuity" in their lives as a result of their becoming menopausal (p. 19). Only four of the one

hundred women identified menopause as a source of significant anxiety or stress from a list of possible midlife concerns.

Numerous authors have also discussed the midlife identity concerns reported by men (e.g., Vaillant, 1977). Colarusso and Nemiroff (1982) suggested that midlife (ages 35-55) is a critical time for men to reassess their paternal identity, and that this reassessment is influenced by both the father's and the adolescent's developmental issues, as well as the father-adolescent interaction.

Farrell and Rosenberg (1981b) described that when a father's oldest child enters adolescence, the father is reminded of his loss of power and controlling influence over that youngster. "Our children are often the measuring rods that convey to us that we are aging" (Farrell & Rosenberg, 1981b, p. 139).

In another discussion of parent-child relationships at the time of adult midlife in which two family case studies were presented, Farrell and Rosenberg (1981a) supported Benedek's (1959) theory that fathers' unresolved adolescent issues are reactivated by the fathers' involvement with their early adolescent offspring. Farrell & Rosenberg (1981a) suggested that one product of this father-adolescent interaction might include the adolescent securing an acceptable appeasement between their wishes and their parents', while the father may discover a new perspective or outlook on his own unresolved adolescent developmental issues.

Levinson et al. (1978) formulated a developmental model for men, based in part upon their series of biographical interviews with forty men who varied in social class, education, and occupation. Of special interest to their research team was what they described to be a man's transition from

early adulthood to middle adulthood, occurring between ages 35 and 45. As with Rubin (1976, 1979), their presentation was primarily descriptive and illustrative, including several case studies.

Levinson et al. (1978) found that for 80 percent of their subjects, this transition:

> provokes tumultuous struggles within the self and with the external world. [Mens'] midlife transition is a time of moderate or severe crisis. Every aspect of their lives comes into question, and they are horrified by much that is revealed. They are full of recriminations against themselves and others. They cannot go on as before, but need time to choose a new path or modify the old one. (p. 199)

In most of their cases, they did not find evidence of one culminating event in this transition (e.g., as puberty marks adolescence, or as retirement often begins late adulthood). Instead, examination of three areas of a man's life functioning substantiated significant changes occurring at this juncture. These included (similar to Steinberg's (1985) list) a man's biological and psychological functioning, his membership in a particular generation of people changing in its relationship with other generations, and finally his occupational development.

Biologically, they found their sample to have diminished somewhat in their strength and endurance (especially those for whom these characteristics are required in their work). Psychologically, this group became more androgynous, and more supportive and less rigid with their adolescent children.

In terms of his generational membership, Levinson et al. (1978) described that the midlife transitional man finds himself between two distinct generations- trying to "find new ways to combine authority and

mutuality" with his adolescents (p. 29). Men of this age also predominantly reported an increase in their interest for their parents' welfare (and others of that older generation), including an increase in their willingness to share in the responsibility for their care. Levinson et al. (1978) did not cite what percentage of their sample reported these perceptions.

With regard to changes in the man's career and other undertakings, Levinson et al. (1978) said that men in this transition do cognitively and emotionally reflect upon what they have accomplished with their work and life's projects. If the man is disappointed with what he has done, he is pressed to face that disappointment and reevaluate different goals for the remainder of his life. If the man has realized or exceeded his goals, he may still "feel trapped: his success [may seem] meaningless and he is now caught within a stultifying situation" (p. 31).

It is important to note Levinson et al.'s (1978) methods for data collection in comparing their more emphatic conclusions with others' more moderate findings. While most of the other studies reviewed in this section relied upon self-report survey instruments and brief, cross sectional contact with their subjects in gathering their data, Levinson et al.'s (1978) biographical interviews were at "the heart" of their methodology (p. 14).

Each interview was conducted privately in the location in which the subject indicated he would be most comfortable (e.g., home, office). Each interview session was taped and transcribed, with each subject being interviewed for one to two hours, at weekly intervals, for five to ten interviews in total. That is to say, each subject met with the interviewer for a total of ten to twenty hours during a span of two to three months, reviewing in some detail their entire life sequence.

In some ways, their method assumed some aspects of short-term psychotherapy- the development of a trusting relationship with a person over time, and the subject theoretically revealing to that person detailed personal information about their life. Levinson et al.'s (1978) sample of men may have acknowledged experiencing a sense of crisis in their midlife transition (when other samples of men or women haven't) in part because their researchers developed more trust with the subjects and obtained more data (each subject averaged 300 pages of transcripts).

It was not, however, a longitudinal study, which may have relied less upon the subjects' recall (as this study did) and more upon subjects' observations during each of their respective developmental stages.

5. Parents' psychological symptoms at midlife

For this study's purposes, psychological symptoms will refer to the extent to which parents have experienced "feelings of tension, depressed mood, and similar problems" during the past year (Silverberg & Steinberg, 1987, p. 301). In considering the conclusions made by Levinson et al. (1978) and Rubin (1979) about men's and women's midlife experiences, respectively, one might deduce that a significant number of middle-aged parents experience psychological symptoms in the context of their parent-adolescent relations. This may or may not be the case, as there appears to be few studies reporting empirical data on this subject.

Small et al.'s (1987) study measured the relationship between adolescent autonomy and parental stress, which they defined as the parents' "self-reported experience of emotional upset" (p. 12). Their definition does not include depressive symptoms (as did Silverberg &

Steinberg, 1987), but it does imply feelings of tension (which is part of the Silverberg & Steinberg, 1987, definition).

They found mothers and fathers experienced similar amounts of stress, though factors contributing to parental stress were determined to differ on the basis of both the parent's and the adolescent's gender. Adolescent autonomy variables were better predictors of parental stress when across-sex dyads were compared.

Fathers reported experiencing more stress "if their daughters reported desiring greater levels of autonomy and [increasing reluctance to follow] their advice" (p. 2). The beta coefficients for daughters' desire for autonomy and paternal stress was .32 ($p < .05$), and for daughters' nonadherence to parental advice and paternal stress was .44 ($p < .01$). One factor of sons' autonomy was significantly related to paternal stress, sons' deviance (beta coefficient of .67, $p < .01$).

Mothers experienced more parental stress when their sons were more deviant, didn't follow their advice, and desired greater autonomy. Beta coefficients for these three variables and maternal stress were .59 ($p < .01$), .55 ($p < .01$), and .31 ($p < .05$), respectively. One factor of daughters' autonomy was related to maternal stress, daughters' desire for autonomy (beta coefficient of .31, $p < .05$).

Hoffman and Manis (1978) reported that parents of adolescents described their offspring as a source of worry. As previously described, fathers whose children were all adolescents (i.e., 13-18 years old) reported the greatest amount of worry (compared with other fathers, whose children were younger). Post questionnaire interviews revealed that parents of teenagers were most concerned about their adolescents being involved in

some sort of an accident. They also expressed difficulty with the increased influence of the peer group upon their adolescent, especially as that influence might lead to other concerns such as their adolescent's involvement in sexual behavior, substance abuse, and other forms of delinquency. Parents were reportedly more worried about their daughters than their sons, especially around issues of sexuality.

Pearlin and Lieberman (1979) questioned approximately 2,300 adults about the problems they experienced as workers, as spouses, and as parents, identifying the resources this sample used to cope with these problems and the symptoms "of emotional stress and psychological disturbance" which they manifested (p. 221). Follow-up surveys were conducted four years later with approximately half of this same sample, which additionally questioned subjects on the "life-cycle transitions through which people had passed and the crises they had confronted" during the time between surveys (p. 222).

They learned that "normative transitional events" involving parents and their children generally had an insignificant effect on symptoms of parental distress (i.e., $p > .05$). Their "normative role transitions" measured issues of adolescence affecting the parent's last (youngest) child (e.g., the youngest becoming an adolescent, or their leaving home or marrying) rather than the parent's psychological distress when their <u>first</u> child becomes an adolescent and individuates (as with Small et al., 1987) (p. 225). It is not surprising that these parents were accustomed to coping with the challenges of raising teenagers (and therefore do not report experiencing psychological distress) by the time their last child entered adolescence.

Pearlin and Lieberman (1979) did find, however, that parents reported experiencing significantly increased psychological distress when they had problems with their offspring on a daily basis, including that child's unacceptable overall behavior (measured in families of children of all ages), the child's failure to act toward goals or consistent with values deemed important by the parents (measured with families having children over 5 years old), and the child acting disrespectfully and inconsiderately of the parents (measured in families with children 5-16 years of age) (all $p < .001$). General trends from Pearlin and Lieberman's (1979) data indicated that women, young adults, and those in lower socioeconomic positions were "most vulnerable to the severest life-strains" (p. 242).

Rubin (1979) described that middle-aged women she interviewed predominantly reported a sense of loss and sadness when their children became adolescents, as those mothers realized that their relationships with and responsibilities to their offspring were changing. These same women also expressed some relief that demands of raising younger children were ending. She did not specify what percentage of her sample reported these feelings.

Lillian Rubin (1976) also examined defense mechanisms commonly employed by the working-class women she interviewed. She identified these wives' tendency to repress their feelings about the inequality of their roles (as compared to their husbands') as spouses and parents. "If [wives are] not qualifying their complaints, they're denying them, and suffering all the anguish, pain, and depression that come when conflicts are repressed" (p. 104). As noted previously, Rubin (1976) did not cite any specific data to support the significance of this supposed trend.

Rubin (1976) explained that working-class wives she interviewed learned to repress many of their emotions during their marriage (if they haven't previously developed that tendency before marrying) because their husbands use repression to an even greater extent, and are thus less willing and able to tolerate discussions (much less differences) on an emotional level. She suggested that husbands' attempts to express their feelings may be confounded when their wives try to encourage or help them to do so. "...When [husbands'] emotions have been stored for that long, they tend to be feared as especially threatening or explosive" (pp. 124-125).

Rubin (1976) cited Nancy Chodorow's psychoanalytic interpretation of Oedipal theory to explain this development. Briefly, men are believed to learn to repress their feelings as they form their initial emotional attachments to their mothers, then later reject their mothers (repressing their feelings of attraction for her, as it becomes socially inappropriate) and look to their fathers for primary role identification.

Women are believed to also form their early emotional attachments to their mothers, and since they continue to look to their mothers as role models, they do not reject those early identifications as the boys do. "Consequently, women tend to have more complex inner lives, more ability to engage in a variety of interpersonal relationships, and more concern with ongoing relational issues" (Rubin, 1976, pp. 118-119).

Rubin (1976) concluded that this supposed inherent difference between how working-class men and women deal with their emotions (men repressing their feelings, and women wanting to share their feelings but having husbands who can't or won't tolerate it) is a source of marital stress. The implication from her deductions is that women may be much more

likely to acknowledge their psychological symptoms than their husbands. Rubin's (1976) interviews were with working-class families, consequently she does not speculate whether her conclusions may also apply to other social classes.

Levinson et al. (1978) alluded to men experiencing increases in tension and feelings of disappointment and resentment during the reflective process of their midlife transition. They specifically noted the conflicting messages some midlife men receive from their superiors at work ("who have their [own] territories to maintain and protect"): " 'Be a good boy and you'll go far,' together with 'Make trouble and you're dead' "(p. 145).

Levinson et al. (1978) explained that this "subtle mixture of support and intimidation" from these superiors was often not accurately perceived by middle-aged men as their judgment is somewhat impaired during these periods of intra- and interpersonal changes (p. 145). Men in their sample described responses ranging from "depressive self-blame" to "paranoid rage" (p. 147). As previously noted, Levinson et al. (1978) primarily described their findings, but did not include their data (e.g., including percentages, range of responses, instrumentation) in their publication.

D. Parental well-being in police officers' families

1. General life satisfaction

As with the preceding discussions of police family dynamics, little empirical research was found relating to parental well-being in police officers' families. Depue (1981) and Reese (1982), both FBI agents, portrayed officers' wives' general life satisfaction as diminished due to the

demands of the police officer's job (including the sense, as with some doctors, for example, that they are always on-call to help others, and that the family's needs come second- behind the job). It could be argued that couples working in a wide variety of other occupations may experience similar feelings of the family relationships losing out to the demands of one or both spouses' job(s).

Chandler and Jones (1979) described that police officers (and to a lesser extent, their spouses) develop cynical attitudes towards the public and towards life in general as a result of the officer's work (see also Niederhoffer and Niederhoffer, 1978, and Kroes, 1985). Again, no specific data were offered to support their conclusions.

Niederhoffer and Niederhoffer's (1978) survey of 33 police chaplains may shed some light on the general life satisfaction of police couples. None of these chaplains perceived these police marriages as more stable than couples from the general public, 48 percent rated them as "about as stable" and 52 percent rated police marriages as "less stable" than the general public (p. 213). Only 3 percent of these chaplains described police officers' wives as more content with life than other wives in the general public, while 48 percent saw police wives about as content and 48 percent saw police wives as less content than the general public.

2. Parents' self-esteem

Niederhoffer and Niederhoffer (1978) said that police officers' self-esteem becomes fragile as they approach middle-age, in part because of the officers' diminished capability to keep up with the physical demands of the job (e.g., the need for strength, speed, and agility). They also suggested officers' tendency to feel badly about themselves at this time of their life as

they become more aware that they lack training and flexibility to change careers. Again, it could be argued that this might apply to many middle-aged adults who have primarily worked in one occupational field.

The Niederhoffers (1978) also suggested that police wives' self-esteem tends to be compromised (more than in other families) as they tend to look out for their family's needs before their own. It's not clear at all whether this may or may not be the case, as no data were presented to support their contentions.

Stotland (1975) suggested that police officers with higher self-esteem would more effectively (i.e., more healthfully) cope with job-related stress and would, in general, be more effective police officers. No data were presented to support his remarks, and it was not clear how better self-esteem would help an officer to work more effectively. Stotland (1975) also mentioned police officers' tendency to be somewhat socially isolated from other non-police officers. It is possible (though not empirically substantiated) that the social isolation experienced by police officers and their spouses may adversely affect their respective levels of self-esteem (see also Skolnick, 1966/1984; Kroes, 1985; Stratton, 1984).

3. Parents' midlife identity concerns

No information was found about police wives' midlife identity concerns. Niederhoffer and Niederhoffer (1978) echoed Levinson et al.'s (1978) depiction of midlife concerns in middle-aged policemen (i.e., near their 40th birthday). As described previously, the emergence of the officers' increasingly autonomous adolescent offspring and their own diminished physical abilities reportedly contribute to officers' lower self-

confidence and higher levels of general anxiety (Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, 1978).

4. Parents' psychological symptoms

Little empirical data is also available about the psychological symptoms (as defined previously) of policemen and their wives. Numerous authors have suggested that all police officers experience some periodic fear and anxiety related to their work, and that to successfully cope with these feelings that officers develop a protective emotional shell utilizing repression and denial as their primary defense mechanisms (e.g., Kroes, 1985; Stratton, 1984; Niederhoffer & Niederhofffer, 1978; Baker, 1985; Shev and Hewes, 1977; Territo & Vetter, 1981; Kirkham, 1975; Wenz, 1979).

Stratton (1984) described that some of the officers he treated suffered from nightmares and burnout related to trauma they had experienced in their work, and that officers' wives acknowledged being fearful for their husbands' safety (no specific data were cited).

Niederhoffer and Niederhoffer (1978) asked 127 wives of policemen and male detectives to what extent they worried about their husbands' safety at work. One third of the sample (34 percent) said that they worried "a lot," while half (56 percent) said that they worried "a little" and fewer (10 percent) reported that they didn't worry about their husbands' safety (p. 201). One is reminded that numerous theorists have argued that police wives, like their officer husbands, tend to deny concerns or problems that they may have (e.g., Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, 1978).

Some have suggested that the emotional strain of police work results in increased incidence of illness and death in officers as compared to the

general population, and in this sense is evidence of psychological symptoms (e.g., Stratton, 1984). Richard and Fell (1975) reviewed 6,720 randomly selected death reports in the state of Tennessee occurring between January 1972 and June 1974. Of this sample, 43 were police officers. Compared with the proportion of police officers in that state's general population, they concluded that an inordinate number of police officers died during that period ($p < .01$).

Of these 6,720 sampled death reports, 363 of these persons died by suicide. Five of these persons were employed as police officers, ranking them as the occupation with the third highest rate of suicide in Tennessee during this period(following laborers and pressmen). It was not indicated whether more of the suicides were by former (retired) police officers. This author is reminded of the opinions expressed by two experienced police officers from different regions of the United States who have recently remarked that the number of police suicides is much larger than what is "officially reported" (personal communications, 1985, 1987; see also Donovan, 1981).

Wenz (1979) sampled 120 policemen (with an average length of service of 4.4 years) regarding their level of death anxiety (i.e., fear of one's own death). Of this sample, 43 percent of the officers had witnessed some death during their first year of service, and another 46 percent had witnessed some death during their second or third years of service. Using a 15-item true-false death anxiety scale, they found the mean death anxiety scale score for these officers was not significantly greater than for those in other occupations.

They suggested that as 89 percent of these officers witnessed death during their first three years of police work, these officers may have become "[de]-sensitized and accepting of death" (Wenz, 1979, p. 233). Wenz (1979) also hypothesized that police officers' pervasive use of repression and denial may have moderated their self-reported death anxiety levels. His study did not report how often these officers had witnessed death, whose deaths were witnessed (e.g., perpetrator, bystander, or officer), and under what circumstances the death occurred (e.g., car accident, fire, shooting or stabbing). One might assume that these factors might influence an officer's anxiety toward death.

E. The Silverberg and Steinberg research

Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) examined the relationship between four aspects of parents' well-being, their adolescent child's level of emotional autonomy, and the family's level of parent-adolescent conflict. Their sample included 129 married couples and their oldest children, who were early adolescents (i.e., aged 10-15 years old; 66 had eldest daughters, 63 had eldest sons). Most of the families had additional (younger) children (86 percent), and the fathers' occupations covered a broad range (33 percent blue-collar, 36 percent white-collar, and 31 percent professional, according to U. S. Census categories). Half of the participating mothers were employed full time, 40 percent were employed part-time, and 10 percent were not employed.

The four aspects of parental well-being measured by their study were "midlife identity concerns, life satisfaction, self-esteem, and psychological symptoms" (p. 298). Each of these (along with the adolescent

emotional autonomy and parent-adolescent conflict variables) has been defined in the preceding sections. The instruments used to measure each will be described in the third chapter, and reprinted in the appendix section.

Parents and adolescents completed instruments during researchers' visits to the subjects' homes. Adolescents completed the emotional autonomy instrument, and the parents responded to all of the remaining instruments. Comparisons were made on the basis of both parent and adolescent gender, and also socioeconomic status.

1. Findings

Fathers reported having more midlife identity concerns and feeling less satisfied with their lives when their sons reported greater emotional autonomy (both $p < .01$). Father-son conflict was not significantly related to any of the four aspects of paternal well-being. Fathers' well-being was not significantly related to either their daughters' emotional autonomy or to the level of father-daughter conflict.

Mothers reported lower life satisfaction when their level of conflict with their sons was greater ($p < .01$). Sons' emotional autonomy was not significantly related to mothers' sense of well-being. Mothers' midlife identity concerns were greater when their daughters' emotional autonomy was higher ($p < .05$), though not significantly when the relation between daughters' emotional autonomy and their age was controlled. Mother-daughter conflict was significantly related to mothers' lower self-esteem and heightened psychological symptoms (both $p < .05$), as well as to the mothers' lower life satisfaction ($p < .01$).

When the families were divided according to socioeconomic status (blue-collar families compared to the combination of white-collar and professional families), some additional patterns emerged. White-collar and professional fathers' life satisfaction was lower when their sons' emotional autonomy was greater ($p < .05$). Blue-collar fathers showed the same trend ($p < .10$), and their midlife identity concerns were also correlated with their sons' emotional autonomy ($p < .05$).

White-collar and professional fathers reported that their depressive psychological symptoms were greater when their father-daughter conflict was heightened ($p < .10$). Blue-collar fathers psychological symptoms were reportedly less when their conflict was greater with their daughters ($p < .10$), and their satisfaction with life in general was significantly less when their daughters' emotional autonomy was greater ($p < .05$).

White-collar and professional mothers' life satisfaction was significantly less when their conflict with their sons was intensified ($p < .01$). A similar trend was found between blue-collar mothers and their sons ($p < .10$). White-collar and professional mothers' self-esteem ($p < .05$) and life satisfaction ($p < .01$) were lower when conflict with their daughters was greater, and their self-esteem tended to be lower when their daughters' emotional autonomy was higher ($p < .10$). Blue-collar mothers' psychological symptoms were greater when mother-daughter conflict was heightened ($p < .05$).

2. Discussion

Generally speaking, parents' sense of self and well-being was more strongly related to the emotional autonomy and parent-adolescent conflict with their same-sex adolescents. This suggests that parents may identify

with their same-sex children at this stage in the family life cycle, reflecting upon their own adolescence as they observe their offspring in this stage of their life (consistent with Benedek, 1959).

Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) noted data (gathered in this study, but not reported in detail) which indicated that mothers whose daughters were more physically mature or more socially active (compared to their peers) reported increased midlife identity concerns. Implications (though not causality) may be drawn from their data suggesting that both mothers and fathers become more concerned about their midlife issues as their firstborn adolescents become more autonomous (in the case of fathers and sons) or physically attractive and socially active (in the case of daughters with their mothers).

Mothers' well-being was more strongly related than fathers' to conflict with their adolescent children of both genders. This finding supports the suggestion that mothers may be more stressed than fathers from conflict with their adolescents given their greater amount of involvement and more opportunities for conflict (as compared with the father) in raising the child (Silverberg & Steinberg, 1987). This may not be entirely the case, however, as Small et al. (1987, described in earlier sections) found parents equally stressed by their early adolescents. It may be that mothers and fathers may experience similar amounts of stress from various aspects of their parent-adolescent relations, but manifest that stress somewhat differently.

The relationship between parental well-being, parent-adolescent conflict, and adolescent emotional autonomy varied when the family's socioeconomic status was considered. Fathers' general life satisfaction was

lower for both groups (blue collar, and white-collar and professional) when their adolescent sons' emotional autonomy was higher. Blue-collar fathers' midlife identity concerns were also significantly higher when their sons' emotional autonomy was high.

This supports the theory that as blue-collar men are conditioned by their work roles to value traits like obedience and conformity more than white-collar and professional men (e.g., Kohn, 1977), they will have a more marked reaction to their sons individuating from them, whereas white-collar and professional men might be more likely to encourage their sons' drives for autonomy, as these traits are more consistent with their work roles.

Blue-collar men's midlife identity issues may be particularly intensified (compared with white-collar or professional men) when their oldest son enters adolescence as they perceive their son's opportunities for the future to be vast- in contrast to their more limited perception of their own future (Silverberg & Steinberg, 1987). Once again, this relates to the process of parents identifying with their same-sex adolescents, as discussed above.

Blue-collar fathers in their sample also had a strong reaction to their daughters. The greater the daughters' emotional autonomy, the lower these fathers' general life satisfaction. Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) were puzzled by the finding that as the father-daughter conflict was greater, fathers' psychological symptoms decreased (opposite the trend in white-collar and professional fathers). One hypothesis is that increased father-daughter conflict in blue-collar families affords these fathers an opportunity to verbally release their feelings and frustrations towards their

daughters. Without such a release, these fathers might repress their conflictive feelings, and consequently manifest more pronounced depressive psychological symptoms.

A second possibility is that blue-collar fathers are more emotionally "protective" of their daughters (i.e., less confident of their daughters' safety and well-being in the context of their social world) than are white-collar and professional fathers. If this is accurate, blue-collar fathers may feel more confident (and therefore less tense or anxious) about their daughters' well-being after they've argued with their daughter- emphasizing to her their level of concern and encouraging her (directly or indirectly) to use greater caution in her interactions with others.

Mothers in both socioeconomic groups had similar reactions to their sons: their life satisfaction diminished as mother-son conflict intensified. The correlations between the mother's relationship with her daughter and the mother's well-being were different for the two groups. White-collar and professional mothers reported lower self-esteem and life satisfaction as their daughters' emotional autonomy and mother-daughter conflict were high. In contrast, blue-collar mothers' well-being was only significantly related to the amount of mother-daughter conflict, and was manifested primarily in their increased psychological symptoms (and not in the other aspects of mothers' well-being).

Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) noted that blue-collar adults may be less likely to express their feelings to others as compared with white collar and professional adults (e.g., who externalized their feelings, acknowledging that they felt worse about themselves, or that they were less satisfied with their lives), and may be more likely to internalize (repress) their feelings-

making them "more likely to manifest their concerns through psychosomatic symptoms, anxiety, and depressed mood" (p. 297). Farrell and Rosenberg's (1981a) research on men at midlife supports this formulation.

In summary, Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) showed that adolescent emotional autonomy and parent-adolescent conflict are related to some aspects of parents' sense of self and well-being, and that these relationships vary according to the gender of both the parent and the adolescent, and according to the family's socioeconomic status.

Their study was important for a number of reasons. It integrated the study of adolescent and adult midlife developmental issues with parent-adolescent relationship dynamics- issues which traditionally have been studied separately (Steinberg, 1987). The strength of correlations for same-sex parent-adolescent dyads lends support to identification occurring for these pairs. It also highlights the significance of articulating different parent-adolescent dyads (i.e., mother-son, father-son, mother-daughter, father-daughter) in research, rather than continuing to generically study parent-adolescent relations. Clearly, both gender and socioeconomic status are important factors influencing these issues.

The Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) study did not determine causality between these parent-adolescent variables, though some inferences may be posited. It did identify and highlight some of the parent-adolescent relational patterns (e.g., that mother-adolescent conflict affects maternal well-being), and articulated some of the variations according to gender and socioeconomic status. Their findings offered some

direct applications to family psychotherapy. It is hoped that this current study will provide the same for police families.

F. The Family Environment Scale and police families

The Family Environment Scale (FES; Moos & Moos, 1986) is a 90-question, forced-choice questionnaire which measures ten aspects of family dynamics in three different domains: the family's relationship dimensions, their orientation towards personal growth and goal fulfillment, and how the family maintains itself as a system. A copy of the ten subscale descriptions is included in the appendix section. Procedures for FES administration, scoring, and interpretation are included in the third chapter.

In the initial portion of this section, information from the one known published study utilizing the FES with police families will be summarized and discussed (Maynard et al., 1980). Supplementary findings from other pertinent FES research will end this section.

1. Maynard et al.'s FES research

Maynard et al. (1980) studied the coping patterns police officers' wives utilized in managing the stress their families experienced as a result of their husbands' law enforcement role. They interviewed 42 randomly selected police officers' wives for an average of two and one half hours each, asking them general and specific questions about their families' functioning. The wives completed an inventory of their coping strategies (specifically revised to pertain to police family experiences and demands) and the FES.

Their study's goal was to identify modal coping patterns police wives utilized in coping with the effects of their husbands' job on their family,

and to correlate those coping patterns with various aspects of their families' functioning (as identified by the FES).

Five of the ten FES subscales were utilized in their study: cohesion, expressiveness, and conflict (from the relationship dimensions), independence (from the personal growth and goal orientation), and control (from the system maintenance dimensions). Wives' data from the inventory of coping strategies identified four modal patterns for optimally coping with stress from their husbands' police work.

The first coping pattern, Developing Self Reliance, focused upon "the wives' efforts to be independent and to develop themselves as individuals" (pp. 497-498). The second pattern, Accepting the Demands of the Profession, involved these wives acknowledging that their husbands' chosen work role imposed numerous demands upon their families, that they have consciously selected this line of work, and convincing themselves that "things will work out" satisfactorily for them (p. 498).

The third pattern of wives' coping, Building Social Support, was focused upon the wives "developing meaningful and supportive relationships outside of the family unit" (p. 498). Lastly, wives reported that they coped with police work's stress by Maintaining Family Integration, which referred to them acting as a traditional " 'supportive' wife" by organizing and coordinating their family's activities and "promoting family integration" (p. 498).

Maynard et al. (1980) found that police wives developing self-reliance as a coping strategy was significantly related to their family's cohesiveness ($p < .01$), expressiveness ($p < .02$), and level of encouraging independence among family members ($p < .01$). Wives' acceptance of the

demands their husbands' police work imposed upon their families was also related to their family's support of members' independence ($p < .03$).

Police wives' building of social support networks to cope with the strains of police work was negatively related to their families' need to maintain a rigid, hierarchical organizational pattern (control subscale) ($p < .03$). Lastly, wives' efforts to be emotionally supportive to their husbands, organize and facilitate family activities, and promote the families' integration was negatively related to the families' level of conflict and their support of members' independence (both $p < .01$).

Maynard et al.'s (1980) results articulate a "delicate balance between family functioning and individual development" (p. 500). As described above, the first three coping strategies were significantly related to increased cohesiveness, expressiveness, and independence in their families, and a decreased need for rigid control. The fourth identified strategy, in which the wives emotionally supported their husbands, coordinated and encouraged their families' activities together, and promoted "family integration" tended to reduce familial conflict but also discouraged independent functioning of family members.

Herein lies this balance- wives encouraging family members to take interest in and support each other (cohesion), tolerate and encourage expressiveness between members, minimize familial conflict, promote individual autonomy, and lessen the families' rigid, hierarchical style of maintenance, while concurrently promoting and facilitating some stability, consistency, and clarity in how family members' roles are defined and in how the family functions as a system.

In other words, data from these police officers' wives reflected that they wanted to promote a caring, peaceful, expressive familial atmosphere in which family members became increasingly autonomous (or independent)- yet also wished to moderate the pace of that individuation (manifested in "promoting family integration") so that changes in familial relations were gradual, and thus more tolerable (p. 498).

2. Other research pertinent to police families

Moos and Moos (1986) described empirical research which incorporated the FES. A very brief overview of some of their conclusions is presented here as it may apply to police family characteristics.

Police officers are known to have a very high rate of alcohol abuse (e.g., Kroes, 1985; Stratton, 1984; Nordlicht, 1979). Filstead et al. (cited in Moos & Moos, 1986) found alcoholic patients to report lower scores on the FES cohesion, expressiveness, and organization subscales, and higher conflict scores than the nonalcoholic sample.

Policemen's wives are frequently employed outside of their home. In Maynard et al.'s (1980) study, 73 percent of their sample was employed (approximately two-thirds of them on a full time basis). Ladewig and White (cited in Moos & Moos, 1986) found that dual career couples with at least one child under the age of 18 reported high FES achievement orientation and organization scores. Moos and Moos (1986) suggested that high achievement orientation may have reflected these couples' efforts to "exercise their fullest capacities in career roles," and their emphasis on familial organization may help them cope with "role overload" plus establish some intrafamilial structure given the "lack of established

structural guidelines for the nontraditional roles thought to occur in dual career marriages" (p. 31).

Police officers have high rates of divorce and marital separation (e.g., Donovan, 1981). As mentioned, one police psychologist reported that her region's police officers had a divorce rate of seventy-three percent (Dr. Carol Rivero, personal communication, 10/85). Farber et al. (cited in Moos & Moos, 1986) reported that adolescents of divorced or separated parents who rated their families as less cohesive and more conflictive (on FES scales) than the norm also reported having higher levels of anxiety. They also found that adolescents from divorced or separated parents who described their families as both more independent and controlling (seemingly a contradiction in terms) reported higher levels of hostility among family members.

Slater et al. (cited in Moos & Moos, 1986) learned that girls tended to have more difficulties than boys adjusting to parents becoming divorced or separated. Girls in single-parent families reported higher levels on the FES conflict subscale, while boys from single-parent families reported less conflict (than boys in two-parent families), higher intellectual/cultural family orientation, and higher levels of self-esteem. Moos and Moos (1986) described that greater autonomy and fewer opportunities for boys to have conflict with their fathers may "promote greater maturity" among these boys in single-parent families (p. 35). Specific data or levels of significance were not reported in their summary.

In FES research studying adolescent personality variables, higher adolescent self-esteem was positively correlated with higher FES scores on cohesion and expressiveness subscales, and lower on the conflict subscale.

A family's overemphasis on achievement or on conformity to rigid family rules (the control subscale) is negatively related to adolescent self-esteem (e.g., Hirsch et al., cited in Moos & Moos, 1986).

Lastly, several FES studies found that increased family support (cohesion subscale) is related to fewer depressive symptoms, better self-esteem, and healthier psychological well-being among women experiencing high stress(Roehl & Okun; Levy; Fuller and Carson; all cited in Moos & Moos, 1986). Cooper (cited in Moos & Moos, 1986) found that higher FES conflict was related to higher levels of physical symptoms reported by adults.

Many factors have been found to influence FES scores, including those named above. Given that this author knows of only one study (Maynard et al. 1980) in which the FES was used with police families (in that instance, policemen's wives only), it is difficult to predict how this study's police families will describe themselves.

A key factor (described in the next chapter) is the level of candor and honesty with which subjects respond on all of these self-report instruments. Given that these instruments are not designed to detect intentional distortions in responses (as the MMPI does, for example, with its 'lie scale'), it is possible that some subjects may choose to portray themselves and their families as either 'better' or 'worse' (or both) than they actually are. These issues will be discussed in the third chapter.

G. The Maslach Burnout Inventory and police families

Maslach and Jackson (1986) described burnout as "a syndrome of emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and reduced personal accomplishment" which can be experienced particularly by those who

deliver some sort of human service or educational assistance to the public (p. 1). Research utilizing the Maslach Burnout Inventory (cited in Maslach & Jackson, 1986) has found evidence of burnout in teachers, physicians, nurses, social workers, mental health workers, and police officers.

Emotional exhaustion refers to a person feeling drained of their emotional energies, while depersonalization describes "negative, cynical attitudes and feelings" about those to whom one delivers services (p. 1). Reduced personal accomplishments describes a person perceiving themselves as ineffective or a failure, particularly in their work role.

In a series of their own studies (cited in Maslach & Jackson, 1986), these authors found that burnout is associated with a "deterioration in the quality of care or service" a person provides to others, and that it is related to "job turnover, absenteeism, and low morale" plus other self-reported symptoms, including "physical exhaustion, insomnia, increased use of alcohol and drugs, and marital and family problems" (p. 2).

The current Maslach Burnout Inventory (2nd edition, 1986) asks the subject to read 22 statements and mark the frequency with which each statement applies to themselves. Statements cover various aspects of the three burnout variables named above. Further description of this instrument will be included in the third chapter.

Jackson and Maslach (1982) surveyed 142 policemen and their wives on the effects of police job stress on their family relationships. The officers were relatively young (mean age 33.5 years) and primarily Caucasion (94 percent of the sample). The men had worked as police officers for an average of 12.1 years, and had been married an average of 10.5 years. Ninety percent of the couples had one or more children living with them.

Data were collected using questionnaires, which were distributed to the wives who were attending an annual meeting of a state organization of police officers' wives. Instruments included: the Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI; completed by the officers); seven items assessing the wives' perceptions of how often their husbands returned from work in particular physical and psychological states (i.e., the husbands' "after-work mood"); twenty-six items asking the husbands' and wives' perceptions of the quality of their family life (their "marital satisfaction, the couple's involvement with friends, [the] husband's involvement with [his] family, [the] husband's absence from home, and the husband's display of anger towards family members"); three items asking the officers about the probability that they might quit their job "given a suitable alternative"; and sixteen items pertaining to coping behaviors the husbands and wives used to cope with job-related stress during the officers' off-duty hours (i.e., coping behaviors which might be utilized by anyone without regard to occupation) (Jackson & Maslach, 1982, pp. 66, 67).

Jackson and Maslach (1982) found that the officers they sampled reported "mild to moderate emotional exhaustion on a monthly basis, moderate feelings of depersonalization ...experienced several times a month, and moderate to strong feelings of personal accomplishment ...experienced several times a month" (p. 68). Means and standard deviations of MBI subscale scores reported in their article were consistent with these descriptions.

Agreement between husbands and wives on the five "family life indices" ranged from .46 to .60, with a mean of .53, suggesting that some

differences in perceptions of how police work affected family life existed on the basis of the spouses' gender (Jackson & Maslach, 1982, p. 68).

Jackson and Maslach (1982) found that wives' reports of their husbands' "physical and psychological symptoms of strain" (i.e., their after-work mood) were significantly correlated with their husbands' reports of the frequency and intensity of their own emotional exhaustion ($p < .05$), related to the frequency ($p < .05$) but not the intensity of the husbands' sense of personal accomplishment with their work, and unrelated to the frequency or intensity of husbands' reported feelings of depersonalization towards the public (pp. 68, 69).

"Twenty-seven percent of the variance in the quality of family life [as reported by both spouses] could be accounted for by the husbands' [reported] burnout" (Jackson & Maslach, 1982, p. 69). Combining both partners' ratings on the five family life indices resulted in significant correlations with the officers' reported frequency and intensity of emotional exhaustion and feelings of depersonalization (all $p < .05$), but not with the officers' sense of personal accomplishment with their work. Sex differences were evident, with the wives' quality of family life ratings (but not the husbands') significantly related to frequency and intensity of husbands' reported emotional exhuastion, and the husbands' ratings more strongly related than the wives' to husbands' reported frequency and intensity of depersonalized feelings.

Stepwise hierarchical regression revealed a significant relationship between husbands' reported burnout (especially their emotional exhuastion) and their desire to leave law enforcement (given a suitable alternative, $p < .05$).

Further sex differences were revealed in husbands' and wives' use of thirteen of sixteen identified coping behaviors for managing stress from the husbands' police work. Wives were more likely than their husbands to try coping with this stress by talking with their spouse and with friends, seeking support from involvement in other organized groups and from religious activities, changing their eating habits (though they did not specify in what manner they were changed), working more around their house, going shopping, using "other drugs" (i.e., other than medications), and seeking professional help (Jackson & Maslach, 1982, p. 71; all $p < .05$).

Husbands reportedly relied more upon increased smoking of tobacco and drinking of alcohol, getting away from the family, and finding some other activity to help them "take [their] mind off [their job-related stress]" (Jackson & Maslach, 1982, p. 71; $p < .05$).

Coping behaviors were significantly related to quality of family life. For both wives and husbands, talking with the other spouse was significantly related to both their marital satisfaction as well as to their perceptions of the husband's involvement with family matters, and negatively related to the husband's reported "displays of anger towards the family" (Jackson & Maslach, 1982, p. 72; all $p < .05$). Policemen who indicated that they coped with job-related stress by isolating themselves from others perceived themselves as significantly less involved with their families ($p < .05$), though their wives did not share this perception.

Drinking alcohol (for both spouses) and wives changing their eating habits were negatively related to husbands' and wives' respective marital satisfaction ($p < .05$). Husbands and wives perceived that husbands'

increased use of alcohol (as a coping strategy) was related to husbands' "greater satisfaction with police work as an occupation" (p. 74).

Husbands whose wives changed their eating habits (to cope with stress from their husband's work) were reportedly less involved with their families ($p < .05$). Husbands who changed their eating habits to cope with their job-related stress argued more with their families, reported having more negative attitudes toward their work, and were reportedly more frequently absent from their home ($p < .05$).

In summary, Jackson and Maslach (1982) showed that their sample of 142 policemen reported experiencing feelings of emotional exhaustion and depersonalization (in varying frequency and intensity) resulting from their work. These officers also reported "moderate to strong feelings of personal accomplishment" several times each month, suggesting some balance between the perceived positive and negative effects of the job upon the police officer (p. 68).

Wives' reports of their husbands' physical and psychological states (their 'after-work mood') were significantly correlated to the husbands' reports of emotional exhaustion from and personal accomplishment with their work. In other words, the wives' observations of their husbands validated their husbands' reports of emotional exhaustion and sense of personal accomplishment.

Quality of family life was also significantly related to the officers' reported burnout ($p < .05$). The more burned out the officer described himself to be, the poorer the reported quality of his family life. Various coping strategies husbands and wives used to manage stress they experienced from the police officer's work were also found to be

significantly related to the three MBI burnout variables, and the selection of strategies varied according to the spouse's gender.

In general, policemen relied more heavily upon increased drinking and smoking, isolating themselves, and repressing their feelings, while their wives tended to share their concerns more with others (including their spouses, friends, and associates in organized groups or professional treatment), shopped or worked in their house more frequently, or used drugs (other than alcohol).

In the third chapter, this study's hypotheses, procedures, and instrumentation will be identified and discussed.

Chapter III

METHODOLOGY

A. Overview of the study

This study examined parent-adolescent relations in policemen's families, and identified various characteristics of both the officers and of their families. Two groups of police families participated. The first group was comprised of experienced police officers (with 5 or more years of law enforcement experience), their wives, and their oldest child (who was 10-15 years old).

In this group, adolescents reported their level of emotional autonomy, self-esteem, and psychological symptoms. Parents reported on their parent-adolescent conflict, along with four measures of their well-being: midlife identity concerns, self-esteem, general life satisfaction, and psychological symptoms. Correlations were determined to learn whether any of these variables were significantly correlated to each other. This part of the study was a replication of Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) parent-adolescent research with the general population.

Parents and adolescents also identified other social-environmental characteristics of their families (on the FES), and officers articulated to what extent they feel 'burned out' in their work (using the MBI). The primary role of these instruments was to further describe the sample.

In the second group, married inexperienced officers (with fewer than 2 years of experience in law enforcement) and their wives (who have at least one child, of any age) reported their families' social-environmental

characteristics (FES) and officers' burnout levels (MBI), for comparison with the first group of police families.

The fundamental questions in this study asked policemen, their wives, and their oldest children (aged 10-15) to describe themselves and their family relations at this point in their family's life cycle.

B. Hypotheses of the study

1. Adolescent emotional autonomy

1. Policemen's early adolescent daughters will not differ significantly from policemen's early adolescent sons in their level of emotional autonomy, as measured by Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) adolescent emotional autonomy scale.

2. Policemen's early adolescent children's level of emotional autonomy (as measured by Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) adolescent emotional autonomy scale) will not be significantly correlated to policemen's parental well-being (as measured by Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) four measures of parental well-being).

3. Policemen's early adolescent children's level of emotional autonomy (as measured by Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) adolescent emotional autonomy scale) will not be significantly correlated to policemen's wives' parental well-being (as measured by Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) four measures of parental well-being).

2. Adolescent well-being (self-esteem and psychological symptoms only)

4. Policemen's early adolescent daughters will not differ significantly from policemen's early adolescent sons in their level of adolescent well-

being as measured by Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) self-esteem and psychological symptoms measures.

3. Parent-adolescent conflict

5. Policemen's early adolescent daughters will not differ significantly from policemen's early adolescent sons in their level of parent-adolescent conflict, as measured by Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) parent-adolescent conflict measure.

6. Policemen will not differ significantly from their wives in their levels of parent-adolescent conflict, as measured by Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) parent-adolescent conflict measure.

7. Policemen's levels of parent-adolescent conflict (as measured by Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) parent-adolescent conflict measure) will not be significantly correlated to their levels of parental well-being (as measured by Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) four measures of parental well-being).

8. Policemen's wives' levels of parent-adolescent conflict (as measured by Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) parent-adolescent conflict measure) will not be significantly correlated to their levels of parental well-being (as measured by Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) four measures of parental well-being).

4. Parental well-being

9. Policemen will not differ significantly from their wives in their levels of parental well-being, as measured by Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) four measures of parental well-being.

10. Policemen will not differ significantly from their wives in their levels of parental well-being (as measured by Silverberg and Steinberg's

(1987) four measures of parental well-being) on the basis of whether their oldest child (aged 10-15) is a daughter or a son.

5. Family Environment Scale (FES) subscales and Family Incongruence Scores

11. Policemen's early adolescent children's mean FES subscale scores will not differ significantly from Moos and Moos' (1986) national adolescent norm means for parents with adolescent children (Appendix E).

12. Experienced policemen's and their wives' combined mean FES subscale scores will not differ significantly from Moos and Moos' (1986) national parent norm means for parents with adolescent children (Appendix E).

13. Policemen's mean FES subscale scores will not differ significantly on the basis of how many years they have worked as a police officer (two years or less, versus more than five years).

14. Policemen's wives' FES subscale scores will not differ significantly on the basis of how many years their husbands have worked as a police officer (two years or less, versus more than five years).

15. Policemen's FES Family Incongruence Scores (FIS) will not differ significantly on the basis of whether their oldest child (aged 10-15) is a son or a daughter.

16. Policemen's FES Family Incongruence Scores (FIS) will not differ significantly on the basis of how many years they have worked as a police officer (two years or less, versus more than five years).

6. Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI) subscale scores

17. Policemen's MBI subscale scores will not differ significantly on the basis of how many years they have worked as a police officer (two years or less, versus more than five years).

C. The study's sample

Group 1 included policemen with at least five years law enforcement experience, their wives, and their oldest child, who was 10-15 years old (note: one of the sons and one of the daughters were within a few months of their tenth birthday). Family members lived in the same residence, but parents and adolescents were not necessarily biologically related. Twenty-four families were interviewed in this group, with 10 families having sons and 14 families having daughters.

Group 2 couples included policemen who have worked in law enforcement for less than two years (not including academy training) and their wives. These officers and their wives lived together, and had at least one child. Ten families were interviewed in this group.

D. Recruitment procedures

The author recruited police officers and their families through municipal and state law enforcement agencies in the northeastern United States. Meetings were held with these agencies' administrators to explain the study, and the author requested the names of each agency's officers who met the requirements for either group 1 or group 2. These officers received this author's letter of introduction from his police internship site. Officers also received the recruitment letter, which provided them with an

overview of the study's focus and procedures, and advised them that this study has been reviewed and approved by the university's Human Subjects Review Committee. These materials are duplicated in Appendix A.

Officers whose families were interested in further information telephoned or met with this author to address any questions or concerns they had. Appointments were made for those families who decided to participate, with this author administering the study's instruments at each family's home (or other location of their choosing), at their mutual convenience.

E. Provisions for confidentiality and adolescent participation

All information gathered for this study has been kept and will remain in strict confidence by this author, as described in the recruitment letter (Appendix A). All survey instruments were coded according to the family's number and the person's status in the family (father, mother, adolescent), and only this author has the names and other identifying information of the families. Each participant's scores were transferred onto a master data sheet for data entry and computer analysis.

Parents signed the study's Participation Agreement Form (Appendix B), authorizing both their participation as well as their adolescent's. Adolescents also signed these forms, acknowledging their willingness to participate (though their signatures were not legally binding). As the Participation Agreement Form stipulates, participants were allowed to withdraw from this study and ask that their data be destroyed at any time, for any reason.

F. Instruments

Instruments measuring adolescent emotional autonomy, parent-adolescent conflict, and parent and adolescent well-being were the same as those used by Silverberg and Steinberg (1987), with their permission. Permission to use these instruments and to replicate this study is included in Appendix G, along with permission from the publisher of the FES and MBI instruments to reprint information from their respective manuals. Copies of the Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) instruments, as they were used in this study, are included in Appendix D. Information pertinent to the FES and MBI is included in Appendixes E and F, respectively.

G. The Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) instruments

The Adolescent Emotional Autonomy Scale, labeled "Student Attitudes and Opinions," was comprised of 20 items, using a 4-point Likert scale. Statements were worded both positively and negatively, and assessed the extent to which the adolescent: perceives their parents as people (outside of the parental role), deidealizes their parents, individuates from their parents, and is no longer dependent upon their parents. Split-half reliability for this instrument was .75 in the Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) study. This instrument was validated in other parent-adolescent research (see Steinberg and Silverberg, 1986), with scores on the measure increasing over the early adolescent years (as would be expected).

The Parent-Adolescent Conflict Scale, labeled "Discussions at Home," asked parents whether they discussed 17 issues pertaining to decision making with their oldest child during the past two weeks (e.g., whether the child does chores at home, the adolescent's curfew). For those issues which

were discussed, parents then rated the intensity of those parent-adolescent discussions on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from very calm to very angry interactions.

Average discussion intensity scores supposedly reflected their level of parent-adolescent conflict. Split-half reliability of this scale with mothers was .76, and with fathers was .80 in the Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) study. This measure was modeled after a similar instrument by Robin and Weiss (cited in Silverberg and Steinberg), who reported that scores on their measure significantly discriminated between families with and without clinical problems.

Four aspects of well-being were measured. The self-esteem scale, labeled "Myself," asked subjects to respond to ten statements about themselves, using a 4-point Likert scale (see Appendix D). Three of the statements were worded in the negative direction, with an average self-esteem score calculated for each subject.

Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) developed this instrument by revising Rosenberg's 1965 Self-Esteem Scale (cited in Silverberg and Steinberg, 1987). One item which they added seeks the respondent's perceptions of their own physical attractiveness, which Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) suggested may well be an adult midlife concern (consistent with Levinson et al., 1978). It may also be a pertinent concern of early adolescents. Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficients for this instrument were .83 for mothers and .84 for fathers in the Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) study.

Parental Midlife Identity Concerns were measured using an instrument labeled "Inner Thoughts" (see Appendix D). This 10-item, 4-

point Likert scale instrument, developed from Farrell and Rosenberg s Midlife Crisis Scale (cited in Silverberg & Steinberg, 1987), asked parents about the extent to which they are currently reevaluating "their life situation, their life choices, and themselves" (p. 301).

This instrument raises issues including the parent's self-perceptions, the extent to which they now reflect upon their previous parenting of their children, and their current level of satisfaction with previously made life choices. Two of the ten statements are worded in the negative direction. This instrument's split-half reliability in the Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) study was .79 for mothers, and .80 for fathers.

Parents' General Life Satisfaction was measured on an instrument labeled "General Life Opinion Questionnaire." This eight-item semantic differential scale asked subjects to select between pairs of contrasting words or phrases to optimally describe their current life, and was used by Campbell et al. (cited in Silverberg & Steinberg, 1987) in a national survey on the quality of adult's lives. This instrument's split-half reliability was .92 for mothers, and .90 for fathers in the Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) study.

The psychological symptoms 5-point Likert scale, entitled "My Health," asked subjects to identify the frequency with which they have had 5 depressive and/or anxiety symptoms during the past year (including fatigue, depression, anxiety, tension, and feelings of isolation from others). The instrument was derived from the Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (Radloff, cited in Silverberg & Steinberg, 1987), an instrument used with nonclinical samples. Total scores (ranging from 5 to 25) were recorded for each subject, with higher scores reflecting subjects

reporting greater depressive and anxiety symptomatology. The internal consistency for this measure was .77 for mothers and .71 for fathers in the Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) study.

H. The Family Environment Scale (FES)

The Family Environment Scale (FES, Form R; Moos & Moos, 1986) is a 90-item, true-false measure of families' "social-environmental characteristics" (p. 1). Ten family characteristics were measured in terms of the nature of the family's relationships, the family's orientation(s) with regards to the social growth of its members, and the dynamics through which the family maintains itself as a system (see Appendix E for complete subscale descriptions, and means/standard deviations of parents and adolescents from the same families).

This form of the FES (Form R) was normed with 1,125 normal and 500 distressed families from a broad cross section of people throughout the United States. Cronbach's alpha (reliability) of the ten subscales (calculated from a sample of 1067) were: .61 (Independence), .64 (Achievement Orientation), .67 (Active-Recreational Orientation and Control), .69 (Expressiveness), .75 (Conflict), .76 (Organization), and .78 (Cohesion, Intellectual/Cultural Orientation, and Moral/Religious Emphasis subscales) (Moos and Moos, 1986, p. 8).

Content and face validity were supported by Moos and Moos (1986) specifically defining each construct relating to the ten subscales, and then "selecting items that were conceptually related to a dimension as agreed upon by independent raters" (p. 20). Correlational studies have been done with the FES and other related clinical instruments (e.g., Jenson's "Family

Routines Inventory," cited in Moos and Moos, 1986, p. 21) and also with the family behavior ratings by trained clinical staff (Spiegel and Wissler, cited in Moos and Moos, 1986). These studies support the FES's construct validity. Studies are also presented in Moos and Moos (1986) articulating the discriminant validity of some of its subscales (e.g., the cohesion subscale).

Forman and Forman (1981) compared 80 high school students' responses on the High School Personality Questionnaire (HSPQ) with their FES subscale scores. Their data supported the FES' construct validity in use with adolescents. For example, students' scores on the Expression subscale, which measures "the extent to which family members are encouraged to act openly and to express their feelings directly" (Moos & Moos, 1986, p. 2), were significantly correlated with student traits of casualness and sociability on the HSPQ ($p < .05$).

High Independence subscale scores, which reflect "the extent to which family members are assertive, are self-sufficient, and make their own decisions" (Moos & Moos, 1986, p. 2), were significantly correlated to students characterized as "outgoing, socially bold, and independent" on the HSPQ ($p < .05$) (Forman & Forman, 1981, p. 166).

In a review of the FES, Nancy Busch-Rossnagel (1985) praised the FES' ease of administration and reliability. She questioned how the 10 subscales were chosen by the authors, and suggested that knowing this rationale might help clinicians to evaluate individual and familial functioning. She also suggested that FES norms for a wide variety of heterogenous samples should be presented, as FES subscale scores have

been found to vary according to age, ethnicity, family size, social class, geographic region, and level of education.

It is important to note that her review preceded the publication of the FES manual's second edition (Moos & Moos, 1986), in which some of her recommended items are now included. Busch-Rossnagel (1985) concluded that the FES is "one of the best measures for assessing families," as evidenced by the hundreds of studies which have utilized it (p. 573).

A second FES reviewer, Nadine Lambert (1985), also praised the FES' reliability, and suggested that support for its validity is seen in how well the FES significantly distinguishes between profiles of normal and distressed families. Similar to Busch-Rossnagel (1985), Lambert (1985) characterized the FES as a strong family assessment instrument of good "practical use" to the psychologist or family therapist, and encouraged additional FES research for further validation (p. 575).

I. The Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI)

The Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI; Maslach & Jackson, 1986) is a 22-question Likert instrument which measures burnout levels in people who deliver educational services and human service assistance to others (see Appendix F). A special form of the instrument and manual have been developed for the assessment of burnout in teachers.

Maslach & Jackson (1986) described three characteristics of burnout, which comprise the MBI's three subscales. Emotional exhaustion describes a person feeling that their emotional energies are depleted and that they are no longer able to respond to others with the same level of emotional intensity. Depersonalization is a condition in which the person develops

"negative, cynical attitudes and feelings" towards those receiving the person's services (Maslach & Jackson, 1986, p. 1). Diminished sense of personal accomplishment refers to a person having negative feelings about themselves and the services they deliver, especially in the context of one's job.

Reliability (Cronbach's alpha, sample of 1,316) on the MBI subscales were reported to be: .71 (personal accomplishment subscale), .79 (depersonalization subscale), and .90 (emotional exhaustion subscale) (Maslach & Jackson, 1986, p. 8). Face, content, and concurrent validity for use with policemen were supported by Jackson and Maslach's (1982) research with 142 police couples, discussed in the preceding chapter. Validation data for police officers is reproduced in Appendix F, as are the demographic norms for the MBI subscales.

Jack Bodden (1985) and Thomas Dowd (1985) reviewed an earlier version of the MBI (which utilized the same 22 statements, but asked respondents to rate the items in terms of both frequency and intensity; the current version only asks about the frequency with which feelings occur). Both reviewers noted some skepticism about the popular conceptions and misconceptions about burnout, and both praised Maslach and Jackson (and others) for systematic research with this instrument.

At the time of their reviews, few normative data on the MBI were available (something both reviewers criticized). The second edition (Maslach & Jackson, 1986) presented group norms for more than 11,000 subjects, distinguished by occupational subgroups, gender, race, age, marital status, and level of education. Bodden (1985) questioned the validity of the construct itself, while Dowd (1985) wondered how burnout differed from

occupational stress. Bodden (1985) stressed that the MBI be restricted to research use only, while Dowd (1985) suggested that the MBI might be "of considerable use in diagnosing problems in a wide variety of human service occupations" (p. 905).

J. Use of the instruments

In this study, the Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) instruments are intended for direct comparison with their sample from the general public. In other words, this author has drawn direct comparisons between parent-adolescent characteristics and relationship dynamics in police families versus those in the general public. Comparisons of this data were also made on the bases of parent and adolescent gender. Adolescents' self-esteem and psychological symptoms were compared in this manner (for descriptive purposes), but were not included in the determination of correlations.

The FES and MBI instruments provided further descriptive information about these families. The FES articulated a more broad overview of these families' social-environmental characteristics, while the MBI specifically addressed to what extent the police officers themselves reported feeling burned out. In this sense, the MBI provided some measure of the extent to which the numerous supposed strains and stresses in police work have affected these officers.

K. Procedures

The author met with the subjects in their homes, with two exceptions (in which one officer and one couple met with the author at the officer s

workplace). Experienced officers and their families completed their instruments in an average of 45 minutes, and inexperienced officers and their wives completed their instruments (data sheet, FES, and MBI) in approximately 30 minutes. Given that all subjects completed written instruments, no tape recordings were made of these meetings. At least one third of the participating families asked the author to remain with them after they had completed the instruments so that they could further discuss issues relating to police work and police families with the author.

The author read the same introductory statement and instructions (see Appendix C) to all participants at the beginning of their appointment, immediately preceding their individual completion of the instruments. In only a few cases did subjects attempt to communicate to each other during their respective completion of the instruments (e.g., asking the other person what they thought of or how they responded to a particular question). In each of these few, isolated instances, the author asked that the subjects refrain from communicating until they had finished (which all of the subjects then did).

Parents of adolescents completed the demographic questions (see Appendix C), then the Silverberg and Steinberg instruments (1987) in the order in which they are assembled in Appendix D, followed by the FES, and finally the MBI (officers only). Adolescents completed their demographic questions, the emotional autonomy instrument, then the self-esteem and psychological symptoms instruments, and finally the FES.

Inexperienced officers and their wives completed the demographic questions, followed by the FES, and then finally the MBI (officers only). Four follow up telephone interviews were scheduled following the

collection and analysis of all the data to seek family members' insights into preliminary findings. These remarks supplemented discussion and explanation of the data, and were not included in the empirical analyses.

L. Data analysis

Level of significance for all comparisons in this study were $p < .05$. Raw data on each of the instruments were hand scored by this author. Scores for the Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) instruments were determined in the same manner they were in that study (e.g., the parent-adolescent conflict scale will yield an average intensity of discussion score, reflecting the relative level of conflict in recent parent-adolescent discussions). MBI and FES scores were formulated according to their authors' directions (raw scores on MBI subscales and on FES subscale and family incongruence scores).

These data (along with raw demographic data) were analyzed by the University of Massachusetts (Amherst) Cyber computer, utilizing the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Raw data were entered by the author, and SPSS programming was performed by a consultant. Significant differences between two single variables (e.g., between levels of parent-adolescent conflict on the basis of adolescent gender) were determined using two-tailed t-tests (Kirk, 1984). Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients were determined to assess strength of correlations between variables (e.g., between mothers' report of parent-adolescent conflict and mothers' self-esteem) (Kirk, 1984).

M. Implications of the study

A dearth of empirical data exists regarding characteristics of police officers and their families. Even less is known about their family relationships. Some experts in law enforcement seem to have agreed that police work takes it toll physically and emotionally upon the officers and their family members (e.g., Kroes, 1985; Stratton ,1984, Maslach & Jackson, 1979). Support for this belief is seen in the police officers' estimated high rates of alcoholism, coronary and digestive diseases, divorce, and suicide (as compared with other occupational groups or with the general public) (Stratton, 1984).

Police departments across this country are increasingly seeking a wide range of psychologists' and psychiatrists' services (Norton, 1986; Loo, 1986; Silverstein, 1986). Yet few studies have been published which identify and substantiate the patterns and specific problems which law enforcement clinicians have claimed plague officers and their families (e.g., Kroes, 1985; Stratton, 1984).

This study has addressed some of those issues, utilizing instruments and experimental design which integrate the study of adolescents, parents, and parent-adolescent relations (Silverberg & Steinberg, 1987), and identifying family dynamics (FES) and specific police officer characteristics (e.g., burnout, MBI) of particular interest to law enforcement professionals.

Chapter IV
RESULTS

This chapter describes the study's recruiting procedures, offers a description of the police family sample, and reports the results of the gathering and tabulation of this study's data pertaining to each of the study's hypotheses, as outlined in the previous chapter. Comparison of this sample with Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) sample, and discussion and analysis of the data will be presented in the following chapter.

A. Recruiting procedures

The first and third chapters explained that the major goal of this study was to compare policemen's families with those families in the general public on the issues identified and discussed by Silverberg and Steinberg (1987). Their sample of 129 families (66 with daughters, 63 with sons) was recruited through mailings and direct telephone contacts, utilizing the Madison (WI) Public Schools as their initial referral source.

This study's sample was recruited through the author contacting municipal and state law enforcement agencies in the northeastern United States. Initially, the author visited representatives from police administrations in approximately 50 agencies, and asked that eligible officers in each organization be given a recruitment letter (Appendix A) which described the study and requested officers' and their families' participation.

A police psychologist whom the author spoke with during the recruitment process suggested that the author revisit these agencies, ask the police administrators to specifically identify which officers in their

organizations might be eligible to participate in this study (in either of the samples- experienced or inexperienced officers), and then arrange to privately meet with those officers in person to solicit their participation.

Of those officers who were identified as eligible and who met individually with this author, approximately 40 to 50 percent volunteered to participate. Several officers volunteered to participate on the basis of recommendations from fellow officers in their department who had already participated.

Some officers were initially informed of the study while they attended a large inservice training meeting with their agency. Interested eligible officers then spoke individually with the author during a coffee break following their meeting. A well-known representative of that agency introduced the author and the study to the group at large, asking for their support of the study and identifying the author as "someone who can be trusted."

In these individual recruitment meetings, officers indicated that they felt sufficiently reassured by personally meeting the author to then allow the author to meet with their family in their home. In nearly every instance, officers emphasized that they would not have volunteered to participate on the basis of a recruitment mailing or telephone call alone. Securing the officers' trust through direct contact appeared to be crucial in the successful recruitment of this sample.

B. Description of the sample

Twenty-four experienced policemen's families with an early adolescent oldest child were surveyed (10 with sons, 14 with daughters).

Ten inexperienced police officers (with two or less years of law enforcement experience) and their wives (with at least one child in their family) were surveyed. All but two of these officers were assigned to suburban or rural patrol areas, and there was a wide range of rank among the officers (with approximately 80 percent having entry-level rank).

The experienced officers' mean age was 39.29 years, and the inexperienced officers' mean age was 27.60 years. Experienced officers' wives' mean age was 37.08, while the inexperienced officers' wives' mean age was 27.20. Sons' mean age was 12.60, and daughters' mean age was 12.86.

In the experienced officers' families, the number of children ranged from 1 to 4, with a mean of 2.54 children per family. Inexperienced officers reported having 1 to 2 children per family, with a mean of 1.50 children per family.

All of the police officers, in both the experienced and inexperienced samples, reported having been married only once (i.e., their current marriage). Twenty-two of the experienced officers' wives said they'd been married once, one described this was her second marriage and one reported this to be her third marriage. Nine of the inexperienced officers' wives reported this as their first marriage, and one said this was her second marriage.

Three of the experienced officers said they'd been separated from their wives (i.e., physically separated for more than one month due to marital discord), two of them on one occasion and the third on two occasions. Four of these officers' wives reported having separations from their husbands- two on one occasion and two on two occasions. One of the

inexperienced officers and one of their wives reported having been separated- both on one occasion.

None of the experienced officers and two of their wives reported having been divorced (with one of the wives divorced once and the other twice). None of the inexperienced officers and one of their wives reported having been divorced (once, in this wife's instance).

Ten of the experienced officers reported a high school diploma as their highest level of education, four had associates degrees, five had bachelors degrees and five had masters degrees. Eleven of these officers' wives reported a high school diploma as their highest level of education, five held associates degrees, seven held bachelors degrees, and one had her masters degree.

Nine of the inexperienced police officers reported a high school diploma as their highest level of education, and one had an associates degree. Eight of this group's wives reported a high school diploma as their highest level of education, one had an associates degree, and one had a bachelors degree.

Sons reported being in a range of grades 4 through 10, with a mean grade level of 7.40. Daughters were in the same range of grade levels, with a mean grade level of 7.36. This study was conducted near the end of these students' academic year at these reported grade levels.

Eighteen of the twenty-four experienced officers' wives were employed in addition to their responsibilities as homemakers, and five of the ten inexperienced officers' wives were also employed.

The enlistment age of the experienced officers ranged from 21 to 31 years of age, with a mean enlistment age of 24.88 years of age. The

enlistment age of the inexperienced officers ranged from 22 to 31 years of age, with a mean enlistment age of 26.30 years of age. Experienced officers ranged in years of experience between 5 and 20 years, with a mean of 14.33 years of experience. Two of the inexperienced officers had less than one year of experience, six had approximately one year of experience, and two had approximately two years experience in police work.

Two aspects of the danger variable in police work were measured. Officers were asked how many times they had been "seriously injured" in the line of duty (i.e., injuries requiring medical attention). In the group of 24 experienced officers, 5 officers reported having had no serious injuries and the others (79% of the sample) reported between 1 and 8 serious injuries during their careers (with a mean of 2.00 injuries). In the group of inexperienced officers, none reported having had any serious injuries.

Officers were also asked if they had been involved in one or more "shootings" (i.e., line-of-duty situations in which they were present and shots were fired). Seven of the twenty-four experienced officers (or 29%) and one of the ten inexperienced officers (or 10%) reported having been involved in one of more shooting incidents.

Numerous sources (e.g., Kroes, 1985) have described that police officers smoke many cigarettes (or cigars or pipe loads) and drink many cups of coffee, both of which may reflect tension or stress in their work. In the sample of experienced officers, 7 smoked and 17 did not smoke. Of those who smoked, their daily use ranged from one to 35 smokes per day, with a mean of 18 smokes. In the sample of inexperienced officers, 5 smoked and 5 did not smoke. Of those who smoked, their daily use ranged from 20 to 35 smokes per day, with a mean of 24 smokes.

Another characteristic sometimes associated with stress is high daily coffee consumption (Stratton, 1984). Five of the twenty-four experienced officers reported not drinking any coffee. Those who did drink coffee drank from 1 to 10 cups per day, with a mean consumption of 5.11 cups. One of the ten inexperienced officers reported not drinking any coffee. Those who did drink coffee drank from 1 to 10 cups per day, with a mean consumption of 4.00 cups daily.

Another physical symptom attributed to police officers and their alleged highly stressful work is their alleged inordinately high consumption of alcohol (e.g., Stratton, 1984). On a continuous self-rating scale of 1 to 10 (where 1 represented either abstinence or as few as 3 drinks per month, 5 represented an average of one drink per day, and 10 represented an average of three or more drinks per day and/or frequent instances of intoxication), 11 of the 24 experienced officers rated themselves as a 1, with this group's ratings ranging from 1 to 10, averaging 3.42. Five of the ten inexperienced officers rated themselves as a 1 on this scale, with a range of ratings from 1 to 4, and a mean rating of 2.10.

The officers' wives and adolescents were also asked to rate their husband's/father's monthly consumption of alcohol, using the same rating scale. Twelve of the experienced officers' wives rated their husbands as a 1, with a range of 1 to 10 in this group, and a mean rating of 3.00. Six of ten inexperienced officers' wives rated their husbands as a 1 on this scale, with a range of ratings from 1 to 5, and a mean rating of 2.00. Six of the fourteen daughters and four of the ten sons rated their fathers as a 1 on this scale, with a range of ratings from 1 to 7, and a mean rating of 2.54.

The question of family members' approval or disapproval of the officers' law enforcement work was also addressed. Five of the ten sons and two of the fourteen daughters indicated that they aspired to become a police officer in the future.

Officers' early adolescents and wives were asked if they would prefer for their officer father/husband to leave police work if the officer were offered a job in a different field providing similar pay and benefits. Two of the ten sons and four of the fourteen daughters said that they wished their fathers would leave police work in this instance. Seven of the twenty-four experienced officers' wives and one of the ten inexperienced officers wives indicated that they wished their husbands would get out of law enforcement in this instance.

C. The hypotheses

1. Adolescent emotional autonomy

1. Policemen's early adolescent daughters will not differ significantly from policemen's early adolescent sons in their level of emotional autonomy, as measured by Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) adolescent emotional autonomy scale.

On a scale ranging from 20 (representing least autonomous) to 80 (representing most autonomous), daughters' mean emotional autonomy score was 51.14 (standard deviation of 10.78), while sons' mean emotional autonomy score was 52.50 (standard deviation of 4.25), with p- .675. Findings are reported in Table 1. Thus, policemen's early adolescent daughters did not differ significantly from policemen's early adolescent sons in their level of emotional autonomy.

2. Policemen's early adolescent children's level of emotional autonomy (as measured by Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987)

Table 1. Means & Standard Deviations (SD) of Independent and Dependent Variables as a Function of Adolescent Gender for Police Families with an Early Adolescent

Variable	Boys' Families[1]		Girls' Families[2]	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Adolescent's Emotional Autonomy	52.50	(4.25)	51.14	(10.78)
Conflict with mother	2.03	(.42)	1.84	(.30)
Mother's midlife concerns	21.20	(6.16)	20.21	(5.74)
Mother's self-esteem	33.40	(4.55)	34.21	(5.03)
Mother's life satisfaction	5.61	(1.36)	6.18	(.80)
Mother's psych. symptoms	16.90	(3.32)	16.57	(2.68)
Conflict with father	1.87	(.54)	2.01	(.49)
Father's midlife concerns	21.90	(4.38)	22.21	(4.21)
Father's self-esteem	35.20	(3.43)	34.07	(3.56)
Father's life satisfaction	5.73	(.94)	5.90	(.80)
Father's psych. symptoms	15.70	(2.31)	15.57	(3.61)
*Adolescent's self-esteem	31.60	(3.98)	31.57	(3.03)
*Adolescent's psych. symptoms	16.30	(3.62)	14.64	(3.41)

* These measures will be used for comparison only, and are not tabulated in the study's correlational computations.
1: N- 10 2: N-14

adolescent emotional autonomy scale) will not be significantly correlated to policemen's parental well-being (as measured by Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) four measures of parental well-being).

A strong negative correlation, approaching significance (p= .053), was obtained between sons' emotional autonomy and officers' level of self-esteem. No other correlations between adolescent emotional autonomy and fathers' parental well-being approached significance. Correlations are reported in Table 2. Thus, there was one near significant correlation between adolescent emotional autonomy and fathers' parental well-being.

3. Policemen's early adolescent children's level of emotional autonomy (as measured by Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) adolescent emotional autonomy scale) will not be significantly correlated to policemen's wives' parental well-being (as measured by Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) four measures of parental well-being).

Sons' emotional autonomy was correlated with wives' midlife identity concerns and negatively correlated with wives' general level of life satisfaction (both $p < .01$). Daughters' emotional autonomy was correlated to wives' reported psychological symptoms ($p < .05$). Correlations are reported in Table 3. Thus, policemen's early adolescent children's level of emotional autonomy was significantly correlated to several aspects of policemen's wives' parental well-being.

2. Adolescent well-being

4. Policemen's early adolescent daughters will not differ significantly from policemen's early adolescent sons in their level of adolescent well-being, as measured by Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) self-esteem and psychological symptoms measures.

On a scale ranging from 10 (representing low self-esteem) to 40 (representing high self-esteem), daughters' mean score was 31.57 (standard deviation of 3.03), and son's mean score was 31.60 (standard

Table 2. Correlations Between Youngsters' Emotional Autonomy and Intensity of Father-Child Conflict and Fathers' Sense of Self and Well-Being, as Measured by Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) Instruments[1]

	Fathers' sense of self & well-being			
	Midlife identity concerns	Self-esteem	Life satisfaction	Psychological symptoms
	Fathers of sons[2]			
Sons' emotional autonomy	.27	-.54+	-.29	.37
Father-son conflict	-.03	.16	.46+	-.55+
	Fathers of daughters[3]			
Daughters' emotional autonomy	-.13	-.04	.19	-.06
Father-daughter conflict	.05	-.04	-.48*	.17

Significance of correlations: + : $p < .10$ * : $p < .05$
1: See Appendix D for copies of these instruments
2: N= 10
3: N= 14

Table 3. Correlations Between Youngsters' Emotional Autonomy and Intensity of Mother-Child Conflict and Mothers' Sense of Self and Well-Being, as Measured by Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) Instruments[1]

	Mothers' sense of self & well-being			
	Midlife identity concerns	Self-esteem	Life satisfaction	Psychological symptoms
Mothers of sons[2]				
Sons' emotional autonomy	.75**	-.36	-.75**	.20
Mother-son conflict	-.35	.61*	.13	.00
Mothers of daughters[3]				
Daughters' emotional autonomy	.14	.21	-.30	.61*
Mother-daughter conflict	-.06	-.27	-.04	-.43+

Significance of correlations: + : $p < .10$ * : $p < .05$ ** : $p < .01$
1: See Appendix D for copies of these instruments
2: N= 10
3: N= 14

deviation of 3.98), with p= .98. On a scale ranging from 5 (representing few reported psychological symptoms) to 25 (representing frequent psychological symptoms), daughters' mean score was 14.64 (standard deviation of 3.41), and sons' mean score was 16.30 (standard deviation of 3.62), with p= .27. Findings are reported in Table 1. Thus, policemen's early adolescent daughters did not differ significantly from policemen's early adolescent sons in their levels of self esteem and psychological symptoms.

3. Parent-adolescent conflict

5. Policemen's early adolescent daughters will not differ significantly from policemen's early adolescent sons in their level of parent-adolescent conflict, as measured by Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) parent-adolescent conflict measure.

On a scale ranging from a score of 1.00 (representing the least parent-adolescent conflict) to 4.00 (representing the most parent-adolescent conflict), the combined parents' mean parent-adolescent conflict score of families with daughters was 1.93 (standard deviation of .21), and the combined parents' mean score of families with sons was 1.95 (standard deviation of .43), with p= .89. Fathers of daughters reported their mean parent-adolescent conflict score to be 2.01 (standard deviation of .49), and fathers of sons reported their mean parent-adolescent conflict score to be 1.87 (standard deviation of .54), with p= .50. Mothers of daughters reported their mean parent-adolescent conflict score to be 1.84 (standard deviation of .30), and mothers of sons reported their mean parent-adolescent conflict score to be 2.03 (standard deviation of .42), with p= .22. Findings are reported in Table 1. Thus, policemen's early adolescent daughters did not differ significantly from policemen's early adolescent

sons in their respective parents' reported levels of parent-adolescent conflict.

6. Policemen will not differ significantly from their wives in their levels of parent-adolescent conflict, as measured by Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) parent-adolescent conflict measure.

Fathers of early adolescent daughters and fathers of early adolescent sons reported a combined mean parent-adolescent conflict score of 1.95 (standard deviation of .51), while mothers of both groups reported a combined mean parent-adolescent conflict score of 1.92 (standard deviation of .36), with $p = .81$. Thus, policemen did not differ significantly from their wives in their respective levels of reported parent-adolescent conflict.

7. Policemen's levels of parent-adolescent conflict (as measured by Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) parent-adolescent conflict measure) will not be significantly correlated to their levels of parental well-being (as measured by Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) four measures of parental well-being).

There was a significant negative correlation between father-daughter conflict and fathers' general level of life satisfaction ($p < .05$). Father-son conflict was correlated with fathers' general level of life satisfaction and negatively correlated with their reported psychological symptoms, approaching levels of significance ($p = .09$ and .052, respectively). Correlations are reported in Table 2. Thus, policemen's level of parent-adolescent conflict was significantly correlated to their levels of parental well-being in one instance.

8. Policemen's wives' levels of parent-adolescent conflict (as measured by Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) parent-adolescent conflict measure) will not be significantly correlated to their levels of parental well-being (as measured by Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) four measures of parental well-being).

Mother-son conflict was correlated to mothers' self-esteem ($p < .05$). Mother-daughter conflict was negatively correlated to mothers' reported psychological symptoms, approaching the level of significance ($p = .065$). Correlations are reported in Table 3. Thus, policemen's wives' level of parent-adolescent conflict was significantly correlated to their levels of parental well-being in one instance.

4. Parental well-being

9. Policemen will not differ significantly from their wives in their levels of parental well-being, as measured by Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) four measures of parental well-being.

Combining the parents' scores from families with sons with those from families with daughters: fathers' mean level of self-esteem was 34.54 (standard deviation of 3.48) compared with mothers' mean level of 33.86 (standard deviation of 4.75), with $p = .58$; fathers' mean level of midlife identity concerns was 22.07 (standard deviation of 4.19), compared with mothers' mean level of 20.63 (standard deviation of 5.81), with $p = .21$; fathers' mean level of general life satisfaction was 5.83 (standard deviation of .84), compared with mothers' mean level of 5.95 (standard deviation of 1.08), with $p = .70$; and fathers' mean level of psychological symptoms was 15.63 (standard deviation of 3.08), compared with mothers' mean level of 16.71 (standard deviation of2.90), with $p = .19$.

Thus, policemen did not differ significantly from their wives in their levels of parental well-being.

10. Policemen will not differ significantly from their wives in their levels of parental well-being (as measured by Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) four measures of parental well-being) on the basis of whether their oldest child (aged 10-15) is a daughter or a son.

In families with sons: fathers' mean level of self-esteem was 35.20 (standard deviation of 3.43) compared with mothers' mean level of 33.40 (standard deviation of 4.55), with p= .26; fathers' mean level of general life satisfaction was 5.73 (standard deviation of .94), compared with mothers' mean level of 5.61 (standard deviation of 1.36), with p= .84; fathers' mean level of midlife concerns was 21.90 ((standard deviation of 4.38), compared with mothers' mean level of 21.20 (standard deviation of 6.16), with p= .74; fathers' mean level of psychological symptoms was 15.70 (standard deviation of 2.31), compared with mothers' mean level of 16.90 (standard deviation of 3.32), with p= .35.

In families with daughters: fathers' mean level of self-esteem was 34.07 (standard deviation of 3.56) compared with mothers' mean level of 34.21 (standard deviation of 5.03), with p= .94; fathers' mean level of general life satisfaction was 5.90 (standard deviation of .80), compared with mothers' mean level of 6.18 (standard deviation of .80), with p= .41; fathers' mean level of midlife concerns was 22.21 ((standard deviation of 4.21), compared with mothers' mean level of 20.21 (standard deviation of 5.74), with p= .17; fathers' mean level of psychological symptoms was 15.57 (standard deviation of 3.61), compared with mothers' mean level of 16.57 (standard deviation of 2.68), with p= .38. Findings are reported in Table 1.

Thus, policemen did not differ significantly from their wives in their levels of parental well-being on the basis of whether their oldest child (aged 10-15) is a daughter or a son.

5. Family Environment Scale (FES) subscale and Family Incongruence Scores

11. Policemen's early adolescent children' s mean FES subscale scores will not differ significantly from Moos and Moos' (1986) national adolescent norm means for parents with adolescent children (Appendix E).

The mean score of the combined policemen's early adolescent sons' and daughters' samples were significantly higher on the cohesion subscale ($p < .05$), and significantly lower on the expressiveness and independence subscales ($p < .05$ and $p < .001$, respectively). Policemen's children also reported higher scores in their families' achievement orientation and on moral-religious emphasis than did Moos and Moos' (1986) national sample, in levels approaching significance ($p = .069$ and $p = .059$, respectively). Scores are reported in Table 4. Thus, policemen's early adolescent children's FES subscale scores were significantly different from Moos and Moos' (1986) national adolescent norm means for parents with adolescent children (Appendix E) in three instances.

12. Experienced policemen's and their wives' combined mean FES subscale scores will not differ significantly from Moos and Moos' (1986) national parent norm means for parents with adolescent children (Appendix E).

Experienced officers and their wives reported a higher mean score on the control subscale and a lower mean score on the independence subscale compared with Moos and Moos' (1986) national sample of parents with adolescent children (both $p < .05$). Scores are reported in Table 4. Thus, policemen's and their wives' combined mean FES subscale scores were significantly different from Moos and Moos' (1986) national parent norm means for parents with adolescent children (Appendix E) in two instances.

Table 4. Family Environment Scale (FES) Subscale Scores for Experienced Officers' Families with Adolescent Children[x] (National Norm Means for Parents and Adolescent Children Listed in Parentheses, Moos & Moos, 1986[m])

FES Subscale	Teens' Scores		Parents' Scores	
	Police	National	Police	National
Relationship Dimensions				
Cohesion	7.17	(6.09)*	7.31	(6.80)
Expressiveness	3.58	(4.49)*	5.98	(5.68)
Conflict	3.86	(4.30)	3.46	(3.76)
Personal Growth Dimensions				
Independence	5.38	(6.37)***	6.31	(6.84)*
Achievement Orientation	6.42	(5.82)+	5.40	(5.60)
Intellectual-Cultural Orientation	4.50	(5.23)	5.38	(5.92)
Active-Recreational Orientation	5.75	(5.75)	5.48	(5.55)
Moral-Religious Emphasis	5.21	(4.34)+	5.46	(5.19)
System Maintenance Dimensions				
Organization	5.63	(5.43)	6.19	(5.54)
Control	5.33	(4.87)	5.79	(4.97)*

m : National Family with adolescents sample (1986): N=446

x : Mean scores not in parentheses reflect combined sons' and daughters' and combined fathers' and mothers' samples, respectively. N= 24.

Significant differences between police sample and national sample:

+ : $p < .10$ * : $p < .05$ *** : $p < .001$

Table 5. Mean Family Environment Scale (FES) Subscale Scores for Experienced Officers and their Wives[x] and for Inexperienced Officers and their Wives[y] (Wives' Scores Listed in Parentheses)

FES Subscale	Experienced Officers	Wives	Inexperienced Officers	Wives
Relationship Dimensions				
Cohesion	7.46	(7.17)	6.50	(7.80)
Expressiveness	5.96	(6.00)	5.50	(6.70)
Conflict	3.08	(3.83)	2.30	(2.60)
Personal Growth Dimensions				
Independence	6.08	(6.54)*	6.20	(7.60)*
Achievement Orientation	5.25	(5.54)	5.80	(4.50)
Intellectual-Cultural Orientation	5.17	(5.58)+	4.10	(3.70)+
Active-Recreational Orientation	5.46	(5.50)	4.20	(4.20)
Moral-Religious Emphasis	6.17	(6.08)	5.60	(4.90)
System Maintenance Dimensions				
Organization	6.17	(6.21)	6.70	(6.20)
Control	5.58	(6.00)**	4.60	(3.90)**

x : N = 24
y : N = 10
Significant differences with same gender comparisons between experienced versus inexperienced police family parent samples:
+ : p= .058 * : p < .05 ** : p < .01

13. Policemen's mean FES scores will not differ significantly on the basis of how many years they have worked as a police officer (two years or less, versus more than five years).

There were no significant differences in mean FES subscale scores comparing experienced and inexperienced policemen. Scores are reported in Table 5. Thus, policemen's FES subscale scores did not differ significantly on the basis of how many years they have worked as a police officer.

14. Policemen's wives mean FES scores will not differ significantly on the basis of how many years their husbands have worked as a police officer (two years or less, versus more than five years).

The more experienced officers' wives reported a higher mean score on the control subscale ($p < .01$) and a lower mean score on the independence subscale ($p < .05$) than did the less experienced officers' wives. Experienced officers' wives' mean intellectual-cultural orientation subscale score was also higher than the less experienced officers' wives' mean score, in a level approaching significance ($p = .058$). Mean FES scores are reported in Table 5. Thus, policemen's wives' mean FES subscale scores were significantly different in two instances on the basis of how many years their husbands have worked as a police officer.

15. Policemen's FES Family Incongruence Scores (FIS) will not differ significantly on the basis of whether their oldest child (aged 10-15) is a son or daughter.

Families with sons' mean FIS was 18.93 (standard deviation of 5.02) compared to families with daughters' mean FIS of 16.84 (standard deviation of 3.14), with $p = .17$. Findings are reported in Table 6. Thus, policemen's FIS did not differ significantly on the basis of whether their oldest child (aged 10-15) was a son or a daughter.

Table 6. FES Family Incongruence Scores (National FIS Means for "Normal" Families Reported in Parentheses, Moos & Moos, 1986m)

Total Police Family-with-Adolescent Sample

Boys' Families[1]	Girls' Families[2]	Total Adolescent Family[3]
18.93 (15.34)*	16.55 (15.34)	17.54 (15.34)*

First Year Officers' Police Families with Child(ren)x

16.10 (15.34)

(m : National Normal Family Sample: N=1,125)
1: N=10 2: N=14 3: N= 24
x : Incongruence Score based upon comparison of only husband and wife's FES subscale scores (versus teen and two parents' scores compared in experienced officers' families). N= 10
Significance differences between police and national sample mean FIS:
* : $p < .05$.

16. Policemen's FES Family Incongruence Scores (FIS) will not differ significantly on the basis of how many years they have worked as a police officer (two years or less, versus more than five years).

Experienced officers' families' mean FIS was 17.54 (standard deviation of 4.11) compared with inexperienced officers' families' FIS of 16.10 (standard deviation of 8.90), with p= .63. Findings are reported in Table 6. Thus, policemen's FIS did not differ significantly on the basis of how many years they have worked as a police officer.

6. Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI)

17. Policemen's MBI subscale scores will not differ significantly on the basis of how many years they have worked as a police officer (two years or less, versus more than five years).

Experienced officers' mean emotional exhaustion subscale score was 16.63 (standard deviation of 9.42), compared with inexperienced officers' mean score of 13.20 (standard deviation of 8.27), with p= .33. Experienced officers' mean depersonalization subscale score was 11.21 (standard deviation of 5.84), compared with inexperienced officers' mean score of 12.60 (standard deviation of 4.03), with p= .50. Experienced officers' mean personal achievement subscale score was 37.25 (standard deviation of 7.36), compared with inexperienced officers' mean score of 38.40 (standard deviation of 5.68), with p= .62. Findings are reported in Table 7. Thus, policemen's MBI subscale scores did not differ significantly on the basis of how many years they have worked as a police officer.

Table 7. Average Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI) Subscale Scores and Corresponding Categories of Burnout for Police Officer Fathers, Teachers, Social Service Workers, and Medical Personnel[m]

MASLACH BURNOUT INVENTORY

Sample Group	Subscales: Emotional Exhaustion	Depersonalization	Personal Accomplishment[x]
Exper. Policemen with Adolescent[1]	16.63 moderate	11.21 moderate	37.25 moderate
Inexperienced Officers with Child(ren)[2]	13.20 low	12.60 high	38.40 moderate
Teachers[3]	21.25* +++ moderate	11.00 moderate	33.54** +++ moderate
Social Service Workers[4]	21.35* +++ moderate	7.46*** ++++ moderate	32.75** +++ moderate
Medical Workers[5]	22.19** ++++ moderate	7.12*** ++++ moderate	36.53 moderate

m : Data for and descriptions of teachers, social service workers, and medical personnel from Maslach & Jackson, 1986, p. 9.
x : lower scores on only this subscale reflect higher burnout.
1 : N= 24 experienced policemen
2 : N= 10 inexperienced policemen
3 : N= 4,163 school teachers, grades K-12
4 : N= 1,538 social workers and child protective service workers
5 : N= 1,104 physicians and nurses.
Subscale scores significantly different from experienced police sample:
* $p < .05$ **$p < .01$ ***$p < .001$

Subscale scores significantly different from inexperienced police sample:

+++ $p < .001$ ++++ $p < .0001$

Chapter V
DISCUSSION

This final chapter will compare this study's sample with that of Silverberg and Steinberg (1987), and will discuss the study's results and their implications. The limitations of this study and recommendations for future research will conclude the chapter.

A. The sample

This study's sample was similar to Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) sample in numerous ways. Participants in both studies were similar in age. Sons and daughters in this sample were an average of 12.6 and 12.9 years of age, respectively, compared with a total adolescent sample average age of 12.9 years in the Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) sample. Fathers' average age in this sample (of experienced officers) was 39.3 years, versus 39.6 years in the Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) sample. Mothers in this sample were an average of 37.1 years of age, compared with a mean of 37.8 years in the Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) sample.

Parents of adolescents were married a similar amount of time in both studies. The average length of marriage in this sample was 15.9 years, versus 15.6 years average in the Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) sample. It appeared that the family composition (i.e., single child versus multi-child status) was also similar, with 83 percent of this study's experienced officers' families and 86 percent in the Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) sample having more than one child.

Mothers' employment status was also a consideration in examining these parent-adolescent relationship issues. In this study 75 percent of the

mothers were employed, compared with 90 percent in the Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) sample. More than half of the fathers and mothers in this study's experienced officer sample (58 percent and 54 percent, respectively) had earned college degrees. At least five of the police officers indicated that they were interested in participating in this study due to their exposure to similar research in the college or university setting. Educational levels were not provided for the Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) sample. Experienced officers had a mean enlistment age (24.88 years of age) similar to that of the inexperienced officer sample (26.30 years of age).

The author also wished to identify to what extent these officers had been exposed to dangerous situations in their work- experiences which may well have had some impact on these officers and, consequently, on their family relationships. The majority of the experienced officers (79 percent) reported they had suffered a serious injury on the job, with an average of 2.00 serious injuries reported. Almost a third of these officers (29 percent) said they'd been involved in one or more situations involving gunfire. It is likely that these factors influence different officers in different ways (Kroes, 1985). In asking these questions, the author wanted to establish the prevalence of these risks (which are not present in most other occupations).

Experienced and inexperienced officers completed the Maslach Burnout Scale (Maslach & Jackson, 1986) to measure three aspects of their burnout as it relates to their work in law enforcement: emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and the officer's sense of personal accomplishment with his work. There were no significant differences

between the two groups in any of these three aspects of burnout (despite the different categorizations for the first two sets of scores, each of which was near the transition level to the next category).

Officers in both groups scored near the low to moderate burnout level in emotional exhaustion, near the moderate to high burnout level in depersonalization, and near the moderate to low burnout level in their sense of personal acomplishment with their work. See Table 7.

Compared with Maslach and Jackson's (1986) sample of 4,163 elementary and secondary school teachers, experienced and inexperienced police officers reported less emotional exhaustion ($p < .05$ and $p < .001$, respectively) and a greater sense of personal accomplishment with their work ($p < .01$ and $p < .001$, respectively)- suggesting less burnout in this police sample.

Compared with Maslach and Jackson's (1986) sample of 1,538 social service workers, experienced and inexperienced police officers reported less emotional exhaustion ($p < .05$ and $p < .001$, respectively), more depersonalization ($p < .001$ and $p < .0001$, respectively), and a greater sense of personal accomplishment with their work ($p < .01$ and $p < .001$, respectively)- suggesting less burnout in this police sample in the first and last subscales and more burnout by the police in terms of their depersonalization. This finding might well be expected, given police officers' very different roles with the public.

Compared with Maslach and Jackson's (1986) sample of 1,104 physicians and nurses, experienced and inexperienced police officers reported less emotional exhaustion ($p < .01$ and $p < .0001$, respectively) and more feelings of depersonalization towards the public ($p < .001$ and $p <$

.0001, respectively)- suggesting moderate burnout with both groups, though manifested in different aspects of burnout. Again, these findings would be expected given the different roles each occupational group fulfills with the public.

Despite highly significant differences in these various mean subscale scores, their actual meaningful differences may be less pronounced. For example, experienced police officers' mean emotional exhaustion score of 16.63 (in the low end of the moderate burnout range) may not be that different from teachers' mean of 21.25 (in the middle of the moderate burnout range; Maslach & Jackson, 1986).

As further descriptors of these officers, the author inquired about their use of tobacco, coffee and alcohol- all substances which have been associated (in instances of their high rates of use) as indicators of stress (Stratton, 1984). Current national comparisons on the use of these substances were not available at the time of this writing. In this sample of experienced officers, 29 percent of the officers smoked, with a mean frequency of 18 times per day. Half of the inexperienced officer sample smoked, with a mean frequency of 24 times each day.

A majority of both the experienced officer sample (79 percent) and the inexperienced officer sample (90 percent) drank coffee each day, with average consumptions of 5.11 and 4.00 cups, respectively. To offer some comparison in this category, a 1982 sample of American coffee drinkers reportedly consumed an average 3.37 cups of coffee per day, with the average daily intake of coffee by Americans declining 39 percent during the twenty years preceding that time (International Coffee Organization, 1982/1986).

The suggestion that many police officers abuse alcohol (e.g., Kroes, 1985; Stratton, 1984; Nordlicht, 1979) was not supported by this sample. These sources cautioned that police officers may not reliably report their own consumption of alcohol; as is believed to be the case with others who abuse substances, they argued that denial of misuse or abuse by the officers is prevalent.

The reliability of this data on officer alcohol use was limited by its self-report format (as opposed to the more reliable, though more difficult, direct observation methods). However, officers' wives and adolescents were also asked to rate the officer's monthly rate of consumption, and their ratings (reported in the previous chapter) validated the officers' self-ratings. All three groups described that the experienced and inexperienced officers consumed an average of less than one alcoholic drink per day. Several of the officers offered the information that they'd previously abused alcohol and now completely abstained from its consumption.

As a final descriptor of these police families, the author inquired about two aspects of the family's approval or disapproval of the officer's work. If these police families strongly disapproved of the officers' chosen line of work, it might follow that this factor could contribute to tension in these families' relationships.

Niederhoffer and Niederhoffer (1978) suggested that officers' children (particularly their sons) have traditionally been interested in becoming police officers like their fathers. In this sample, five of the ten boys (50%) and two of the fourteen girls (14%) indicated that they wanted to pursue careers in law enforcement. Niederhoffer and Niederhoffer (1978) found that 42% of their sample of policemen's sons and 16% of their

sample of policemen's daughters reported that they wanted to become a police officer (p. 211). Given all of the possible occupational choices and considerations, these data support the youngsters' approval of their fathers' occupation.

Officers' wives (in both groups) and their adolescent children (in the experienced officer group) were asked if they'd prefer that their husband or father leave law enforcement if he were offered a job in another field which provided similar pay and benefits. Two of the ten sons, four of the fourteen daughters, seven of the twenty-four experienced officers' wives, and one of the ten inexperienced officers' wives indicated that they wished their father or husband would leave law enforcement if such a situation presented itself.

Niederhoffer and Niederhoffer's (1978) sample of 127 patrolmen's and detectives' wives were asked about their feelings about their husbands' occupation; 41% said they were "happy" about their husband being a police officer, 55% indicated that they were "resigned to it," and 4% described that they were "unhappy" with this occupational choice (p. 205). This was not the same forced-choice question which this author asked. It is not clear how many of those from the Niederhoffer and Niederhoffer (1978) sample would have opted for their husbands to enter a different occupational field if posed with the same question given to this study's sample.

In summary, this sample closely resembled the Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) sample in numerous important characteristics. A significant number of these officers have been seriously injured in their work, and a large minority have been involved in at least one shooting incident. These two factors suggest job-related physical and psychological

influences which distinguish law enforcement work from many other occupations.

Current national data was not available to the author to determine how these officers fared in their use of tobacco products, coffee, and alcohol. The author's personal experience suggests that this may be representative of the extent to which police officers in these age groups use these substances, and that other occupational groups (e.g., teachers and other health care providers) may also use similar amounts of these products.

Specific causal relationships between job-related stress and the use of these substances for police officers have not been clearly established. The impact of their use by the officer upon himself and upon his family relationships may vary from one individual to the next (though some modal patterns have been identified in alcoholic policemen's families; e.g., Perry et. al, 1983; Reese, 1982). These data are offered in this study for descriptive purposes only.

How representative is this sample of police officers compared with other law enforcement officers? The 34 officers came from twelve different law enforcement agencies, including eight officers from one regional organization (in which they were assigned to different branch offices). This suggests that the specific influences of one particular law enforcement organization or agency were likely offset by this sample of officers.

It is important to note that this study has sampled two rather narrowly defined groups of officers. Numerous police officers have an oldest child not falling into the 10-15 year old age group, while others were

not married, did not have children, or did not live with their children. In the recruitment process, the author found some departments of thirty or more officers in which there were no officers eligible for either group. Approximately half of those officers identified by their superiors as eligible to participate chose not to.

The author's clinical impressions suggest that those officers and their family members who volunteered for this study may be less suspicious of others, less cynical towards the public, and more confident of and satisfied with their family relations than those police families who did not volunteer. At best, this is an educated guess based upon the author's conversations with those officers opting to not participate, and from the author's three years of weekly contact and involvement with suburban police officers in the same geographic region.

If this were accurate, it would suggest that this study's police families might be more moderate than is the actual population of police families in areas such as parent-adolescent conflict, general life satisfaction, and psychological symptoms. More comparative research, preferably with larger, random samples of police families, is needed to further address these issues.

B. Adolescent emotional autonomy

Policemen's early adolescent sons' level of emotional autonomy (52.50) was similar to policemen's early adolescent daughters' level of emotional autonomy (51.14), and these levels were similar to the sons' and daughters' levels of emotional autonomy reported in the Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) study (53.43 and 53.52, respectively).

In the Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) study, both the sons' and daughters' emotional autonomy were significantly correlated with parental well-being in their larger sample's data. They reported a significant correlation between sons' emotional autonomy and fathers' midlife identity concerns, and a significant negative correlation between sons' emotional autonomy and fathers' life satisfaction (both $p < .01$). Daughters' emotional autonomy was correlated to mothers' midlife identity concerns ($p < .05$).

This meant that for their sample, as the adolescents were more emotionally autonomous, their same-sex parents reported more midlife identity concerns (and the fathers of sons described having less general satisfaction with their current lives). While these processes may occur simultaneously and may have some influence upon each other, it is important to reiterate that causal relationships between these variables were not addressed by these instruments or procedures.

When Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) sample was divided according to the fathers' occupational grouping (white collar/professional versus blue-collar families), blue-collar daughters' emotional autonomy was negatively correlated with their fathers' level of life satisfaction, and white-collar/professional daughters' emotional autonomy was correlated with their mothers' midlife identity concerns (both $p < .05$).

This implied that as blue-collar families' daughters were more emotionally autonomous, their fathers reported less satisfaction with their lives, and that as white-collar/professional families' daughters were more emotionally autonomous, their mothers' reported more midlife identity concerns.

This breakdown according to fathers' occupational group also suggested that different correlational patterns between adolescent emotional autonomy, parent-adolescent conflict, and the four measures of parental sense of self and well-being may be present according to what occupational group the father belongs to. That suggestion is supported by this study's findings, in that different correlational patterns were determined between these variables for policemen's families than were in the Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) study with the general public.

In this study, policemen's sons' emotional autonomy was most frequently correlated with parental well-being. Policemen's sons' emotional autonomy was negatively correlated to fathers' self-esteem, in a level approaching significance ($p < .10$). This suggested that as policemen's sons became more emotionally autonomous, the officers felt less confident and more negatively about their self-worth.

Policemen's sons' emotional autonomy was correlated with the mothers' midlife identity concerns, and negatively correlated with the mothers' level of life satisfaction (both $p < .01$). Policemen's daughters' emotional autonomy was correlated with the mothers' psychological symptoms ($p < .05$). This inferred that as policemen's early adolescent sons become more emotionally autonomous, the officers' wives think about their current place in life and feel less satisfied with their life during this period (similar to the father-son correlations in the Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) study). As these police families' daughters became more emotionally autonomous, the mothers reported more depressive psychological symptoms.

While the patterns of these correlations between adolescent emotional autonomy and parents' sense of self and well-being are somewhat different than were found in the Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) study, the 'direction' of these correlations is as one might expect. As the oldest child becomes more autonomous, the parents experience and/or report what might be classified as 'negative' changes (though some psychologists, e.g., Levinson et al. (1978), might describe increased identity concerns during midlife as a 'positive' and necessary developmental process).

As some of the literature discussed in the second chapter suggested (e.g., Silverberg & Steinberg, 1987), this would mean that as adolescents individuate, their parents might be expected to have more concerns about their own identity, feel less pleased with themselves and their current lives, and report more depressive psychological symptoms. This study's correlations between adolescent emotional autonomy and parents' sense of self and well-being consistently supported the direction of that set of expectations. This consistency was not evident, however, in the correlations between parent-adolescent conflict and parents' sense of self and well-being, as the next section will explain.

C. Parent-adolescent conflict

The level of parent-adolescent conflict by police officer fathers was very similar to that which was reported by their wives (means of 1.95 and 1.92, respectively, with $p = .81$). The levels of parent-adolescent conflict reported by fathers of sons and fathers of daughters in this study were close to those same levels reported in the Silverberg and Steinberg (1987)

study. Policemen's wives' reported levels of parent-adolescent conflict with their sons and daughters were both significantly higher than those respective levels reported by mothers of sons and mothers of daughters in the Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) study ($p < .05$).

Policemen's wives' parent-adolescent conflict levels for their sons and daughters were 2.03 and 1.84, respectively, as compared with the corresponding Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) levels of 1.61 and 1.46. It is not clear whether these differences are 'meaningful' (i.e., whether an observer would notice more parent-adolescent conflict in police families than in families in the general public).

In the larger Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) sample, father-son parent-adolescent conflict was not significantly correlated to fathers' sense of self and well-being. Mother-son parent-adolescent conflict was negatively correlated with the mothers' level of life satisfaction ($p < .01$). Mother-daughter parent-adolescent conflict was correlated with the mothers' reported depressive psychological symptoms ($p < .05$), and negatively correlated with the mothers' level of life satisfaction ($p < .01$) and with the mothers' self-esteem ($p < .05$). This meant that as mothers had more conflictive discussions with their sons, the mothers were less satisfied with their lives. As mothers had more conflictive discussions with their daughters, mothers were also less satisfied with their lives, plus had poorer self-esteem and reported more depressive psychological symptoms.

When the Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) sample was considered according to the fathers' occupational group, some different patterns in their parent-adolescent conflict correlations emerged (as they also did with the emotional autonomy correlations). The strength of the negative

correlations between mother-son parent-adolescent conflict and mothers' level of life satisfaction was greater for white-collar/professional mothers ($p < .01$) than it was for blue-collar mothers ($p < .10$). This suggests that as these mothers have more conflictive discussions with their sons, the white-collar/professional mothers report being more dissatisfied with their lives than do the blue-collar mothers.

Mother-daughter conflict also seemed to be correlated differently for the two subgroups, with negative correlations with mothers' self-esteem ($p < .05$) and mothers' life satisfaction ($p < .01$) in the white-collar/professional group, and a correlation with mothers' reported depressive psychological symptoms ($p < .05$) in the blue-collar families. Again, this finding suggests that mothers in these two occupational groups described themselves and their lives differently the more conflict they experienced in discussions with their daughters.

The one 'surprising' finding Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) reported was a negative correlation between father-daughter conflict and fathers' reported depressive psychological symptoms in blue-collar families, approaching the level of significance ($p < .10$). This suggested that as blue-collar fathers had more conflictive discussions with their daughters, the fathers reported fewer depressive psychological symptoms. This finding is in contrast to the expected direction of these correlations, as discussed earlier.

The author hypothesized that a possible reason for blue-collar fathers reporting fewer depressive psychological symptoms as they are having more conflictive discussions with the daughters might be that by having the more conflictive discussions, fathers externalize their feelings of

disagreement. In doing so, they do not soley internalize these conflictive feelings, a process which might contribute to increased depressive psychological symptoms. Further information about this finding from the Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) study was limited, so this hypothesis about their findings remains in question.

This study's correlations between parent-adolescent conflict and parents' sense of self and well-being in policemen's families 'split,' in the sense that some of them supported the previously described expected direction of the correlations (i.e., the more parent-adolescent conflict, the 'worse' the parent reportedly feels) while others supported the hypothesis offered above in discussing Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) 'unexpected' finding.

Consistent with the expected direction of correlations, father-daughter conflict was negatively correlated with fathers' level of life satisfaction ($p < .05$). This inferred that as fathers have more conflictive discussions with their daughters, the fathers report feeling less satisfied with their current lives. Given that fathers feel more satisfaction with life given increased conflict with their sons ($p < .10$), a contrast is seen based upon adolescent gender in how the fathers report their lives to be given increased parent-adolescent conflict.

One experienced officer told the author that he was more troubled by disagreements he had with his younger daughter than by any he experienced with his several older and younger sons. Though the officer did not articulate it, the author sensed that the officer had a more pronounced sense of protectiveness for his daughter than he might have had for his sons. If this tendency applied to other policemen with

adolescent daughters, it might explain the above finding. This reasoning is purely speculative, and needs further study.

In the other 'unexpected' direction are numerous other correlations between parent-adolescent conflict and parents' sense of self and well-being. Mother-son conflict was positively correlated with mothers' self esteem ($p < .05$), and mother-daughter conflict was negatively correlated with mothers' reported depressive psychological symptoms, at a level approaching significance ($p < .10$). This suggests that mothers feel more positively about themselves as their discussions with their sons are more conflictive, and that they report fewer depressive psychological symptoms as their mother-daughter conversations are more conflictive.

Similarly, father-son conflict was positively correlated with fathers' life satisfaction and negatively correlated with their reported depressive psychological symptoms, in levels approaching significance ($p = .09$ and $p = .052$, respectively). This implies that fathers also feel more satisfied with their current lives and report fewer depressive psychological symptoms the more conflictive their father-son discussions.

The direction of the findings described in these preceding two paragraphs- that parents in a sense 'feel better' (e.g., have better self-esteem, higher life satisfaction, and fewer depressive psychological symptoms) in the context of more conflictive discussions with their early adolescent children- provided primary focus for the author's telephone discussions with four of these police family couples following the completion of the study. The primary question to each of these couples was what these 'unexpected' findings suggest about policemen's families. In other words, how can one make sense out of these 'mixed' results?

The remarks from these officers and their wives were consistent. The author asked these parents whether they perceived that police officers and their wives tended to be more direct than other parents in discussions with their youngsters about issues that concerned either party (which is the process which the Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) instrument measured in terms of parent-adolescent conflict). Unanimously, these police parents agreed that this was the case. In being more direct with their youngsters, they suggested, some of their parent-adolescent discussions may be more tense or conflictive (as evidenced by the significantly higher average mother-adolescent conflict scores in police families), but they argued that they (as parents) felt 'better' about these issues having addressed them openly with their child.

Three of the four police officers consulted in the post survey telephone interviews further described their view that their role as a police officer influenced their parenting style and, consequently, their wife's parenting style. One officer remarked, " [As a street cop], you don't leave things unresolved. We either win [the discussion/argument with a person], or lose- there's no middle of the road. [The same happens in our home with our children.]"

Another officer explained his opinion that parents not talking with their teenagers contributes to those teenagers getting in trouble with the law, a view he suggested some other police officers share. "I stay on top of my kids; they tell me just exactly what they're doing, when they're doing it, and with whom," he reported. He said that his rationale was that even if his teenagers disagreed with him or with their mother in discussing their plans for the evening, for example, at least there was a more clear

understanding between all parties as a result of this kind of discussion. In this sense, he said, he felt more in control and more secure as a parent, which he said pleased him.

One officer's wife said that she is very direct in her discussions with her teenagers, in part due to the unavailability of her husband (whom she said spends most of his waking hours working). She described that her teenagers sometimes express frustration to her that their father is not more available to talk with them and share in the parental decisions, and suggested that his absence may contribute to more tension and conflict in her discussions with her children. As mentioned earlier, a majority of police officers reported working either overtime shifts and/or second jobs in order to supplement their incomes (personal communications).

D. Implications of the study

The profile which this study's correlations draws of parent-adolescent relations in policemen's families varies from that suggested by Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) research with the general public. Similar to the Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) sample, police officers and particularly their wives reported a consistent direction of relationships between their early adolescent oldest child's emotional autonomy and their parental sense of self and well-being. This study's correlations suggest that as their child becomes more autonomous, police parents have more midlife identity concerns (mothers), have lower self-esteem (fathers), feel less satisfied with life (mothers), and report more depressive psychological symptoms (mothers).

Police parents' sense of self and well-being in the face of increasingly conflictive discussions with their early adolescent offspring contrasts the same situation with parents in the general public. Police fathers do report having lower life satisfaction as discussions with their daughters are more conflictive, but then describe an opposite set of circumstances with their sons- more life satisfaction and fewer psychological symptoms as their father-son discussions are more conflictive.

Policemen's wives responded similarly: better self-esteem with increased mother-son conflict, and fewer depressive psychological symptoms with increased mother-daughter conflict.

Speaking with the author in follow-up telephone interviews, these police parents outlined a modal parenting style which, they argued, distinguishes themselves from how they view parent-adolescent interactions in non-police families. This proposed modus operandi is a more direct, confrontive style of interaction in which the police family's parents appear less likely (perhaps are even less willing) to avoid or postpone discussing various issues with their children. Some of the officers and their wives described their perspective that the officer's work role- which includes a primary function of directly addressing issues and conflict, and then resolving those matters- influences this more authoritative parenting style.

This study's FES data supports these differences in family profiles and parenting style (see Tables 4 and 5). Police officers and their wives described their families as significantly less independent and themselves as significantly more controlling as parents as compared to the general public.

Reviewing Moos and Moos' (1986) descriptions of these subscales, this suggests police parents viewing their families as functioning more as an interdependent unit rather than as "assertive..., self-sufficient [individuals who] make their own decisions," and that the parents utilize "set rules and procedures" to maintain their family system (p. 2). One officer's wife said that with her husband's frequent absence from their home, she chooses to utilize strict control and regimen with her children, similar in principle to that which is used by her husband's law enforcement agency.

Police family early adolescents' FES scores also supported this distinctive family profile. They described their families as significantly more cohesive than families in the general public, suggesting a greater degree of connectedness and involvement between police family members. They also portrayed their families as less likely to encourage or tolerate open expressiveness between family members ($p < .05$) and (like their parents' description) as less independent than other families (the latter, $p < .001$).

Both differences support the notion of a more involved, perhaps even a more authoritative style of parenting (the latter suggested as police family teens viewed themselves as less likely to "make their own decisions;" Moos and Moos, 1986, p. 2). Remarks offered by approximately one fourth of the experienced policemen during the survey coupled with policemen's wives' significantly higher levels of parent-adolescent conflict with both sons and daughters (compared with the Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) mothers' levels) suggests that these wives may have more interactions with their children than do their husbands, therefore providing

them with more opportunities for parent-adolescent conflict. Niederhoffer and Niederhoffer (1978) and the author's contact with police families supports this observation.

Police family adolescents' rated their families as more focused on achievement, on moral and religious issues, and on ethics and values than did adolescents in other families ($p < .10$), supporting the more 'traditional' police family profile suggested by Niederhoffer and Niederhoffer (1978), among others.

FES comparisons in Table 5 suggest that experienced police officers' wives view their families as less independent and more controlling than inexperienced police officers' wives view their own families. This might suggest that the longer officers work in law enforcement, the more their families function as an interdependent unit, with the parents taking a more controlling role in maintaining the family system.

It is not clear, however, whether or not a causal relationship exists between the officers' work and these perceived changes in the police family profile. Other factors may also influence these differences, including differences between the two groups in the parents' and children's ages (and the developmental issues implied by same), and the mean number of children in each group (2.54 in the experienced officer group, and 1.50 in the inexperienced officer group). These were cross sectional comparisons, comparing a small number of different families (which may, in fact, be inherently different).

E. Summary

This study examined the relationships between adolescent emotional autonomy, parent-adolescent conflict, and parents' sense of self and well-being with policemen's families. It utilized the instrumentation and design of Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) parent-adolescent research with the general public. Instruments and procedures were the same for both studies, enhancing their comparison.

Two additional instruments (FES and MBI) were added to this study to further articulate these police families' profile and to identify whether or not the officers felt burned out from their work (an issue relevant to their family relationships).

Sons' emotional autonomy was correlated with mothers' midlife identity concerns ($p < .01$), and negatively correlated to fathers' self-esteem ($p < .10$) and to mothers' life satisfaction ($p < .01$). Daughters' emotional autonomy was correlated to mothers' reported psychological symptoms ($p < .05$). These findings suggest that an adolescent's individuation is accompanied by their parents' own developmental issues and processes in police families. This trend is consistent with Silverberg and Steinberg's (1987) findings and with some of the developmental literature discussed in the second chapter (e.g., Levinson et al., 1978).

Differences in the police family's parent-adolescent profile emerged with the parent-adolescent conflict correlations, however. Consistent with the previous findings was a negative correlation between father-daughter conflict and fathers' life satisfaction ($p < .05$). Police fathers reported more satisfaction with life and fewer psychological symptoms given greater father-son conflict (both $p < .10$), however, suggesting their dichotomous

parent-adolescent relations, depending upon adolescent gender. One is reminded that causal relations between these variables were not verified by these instruments.

Policemen's wives also reported 'feeling better' given increased parent-adolescent conflict, evidenced by the correlation between mother-son conflict and mothers' self-esteem ($p < .05$), and the negative correlation between mother-daughter conflict and mothers' psychological symptoms ($p < .10$). Follow-up telephone interviews with four of the participating police couples unanimously supported a parent-adolescent profile different in police families than in the general public.

The couples described (and the data supports) police parents being more direct and authoritative with their adolescents, with policemen's wives assuming a dominant role (given the relative absence of the husbands with their work) in discussing various issues with their teenagers as they arise. This results in greater conflict between police wives' and their adolescent children than was found between mothers and teens in the general public (Silverberg and Steinberg, 1987).

These police parents suggested that the officers' role with the public (addressing and resolving issues with the public on the street) influences both parents' interactive style within these families. Officers also described that they were motivated to be acutely aware of their adolescent's activities given officers' prevalent belief that juvenile delinquency germinates from lack of parental involvement.

FES data support this more authoritative police family profile. Policemen's sons and daughters describe their own families as more having a greater sense of togetherness as a family ($p < .05$), in which family

members function more as an interdependent unit ($p < .001$), and where open expressiveness by all family members is restrained ($p < .05$). Police parents' FES data supports the family's interdependent dynamic, and identifies the use of "set rules and procedures" by the parents in maintaining the family's daily functioning (both $p < .05$; Moos and Moos, 1986, p. 2). The increasing interdependence of family members and parents' reliance upon set rules and procedures appear to become more pronounced as officers spend more years working in law enforcement (and as their children enter adolescence).

Experienced police officers were not significantly different from inexperienced police officers in terms of their mean levels of burnout. In comparing the police officers' subscale scores with teachers, social service workers, and physicians and nurses, police officers in this sample reported feeling less emotional exhaustion and a greater sense of personal accomplishment from their work (reflecting less burnout), though indicated a greater sense of depersonalization from the public (reflecting greater burnout). Police officers' authoritative role with the public and their exposure to people in acute crises (including assaults upon the officer) contribute to their becoming cynical and depersonalized from the public (Chandler & Jones, 1979; Kroes, 1985; Baker, 1985).

F. Limitations of the study

The reader should use caution in considering this study's data and conclusions. There are numerous important limitations which may well limit its reliability and validity, and influence the extent to which its findings and conclusions may be generalized to other police families.

This study's sample was very small in size, a factor influenced by the difficulty in securing police officers to volunteer themselves and their families for the study. A larger sample would have enhanced its reliability. It was not randomly selected; to the contrary, police 'volunteers' were actively recruited by the author. It is not known how the results of this study may have been different if a larger, random sampling were attainable.

Approximately six officers who initially considered participating later informed the author that either they and/or their spouse did not want to participate, for a variety of reasons. Several such officers indicated that they considered their family relationships to be "[strictly] private," and didn't want anyone asking them any questions. Other police couples specifically stated that they did not feel confident about the author's guarantee of confidentiality, and emphasized that were concerned that the officer's employer might try to solicit information about their specific family from the author. This sentiment is consistent with others' (e.g., Kroes, 1985) description of officers' and their wives' tendency to mistrust both mental health professionals as well as their own police administrations.

The sample was limited to law enforcement officers and their families from the northeastern United States, recruited almost entirely from rural and suburban areas. The extent of regional differences on police family profiles is not known. It is also unclear how the size of an officer's law enforcement agency and the officer's role in that agency might affect the results of this study. Several of the study's officers indicated that they believed that if they worked in drug enforcement, for example, that they

might well be more cynical towards the public (reflected in the Maslach depersonalization scale) and more protective of their families (possibly reflected in the FES control subscale).

This study's data is also only as good as its instruments and procedures. To its credit, these were exactly the same instruments and procedures used in the Silverberg and Steinberg (1987) research, facilitating comparison between the studies. As described in earlier chapters, their instruments have been carefully developed and tested. The FES and Maslach subscales were included to provide further descriptive and comparative data about these families, and have been widely used, researched, and normed with various populations.

A shortcoming of some of these instruments is their length. The instrument measuring depressive psychological symptoms had only five items for subjects to respond to, the life satisfaction scale had eight items, and the self-esteem scale had ten items. Longer instruments would have, at least in prinicple, increased their reliability and possibly also enhanced their validity.

These were all self-report instruments, with no safeguards (like the MMPI's "lie scale") protecting against any subject intentionally distorting their response in an effort to represent themselves or their families differently. The author's instructions to each family just prior to their completion of the instruments (Appendix C) was intended to remind each person that their responses were confidential and to request their total candor.

The fact that these instruments were only administered on one occasion accentuates the possible influence that a subject's recent

experiences might have upon their responses. Inordinately positive or negative experiences between one or both of the parents and their adolescent during the time just prior to their survey completion may well have colored some of their responses. The parent-adolescent conflict scale (Silverberg and Steinberg, 1987), asking parents to rate the tenor of conversations with their adolescent occurring during the previous two weeks, was particularly susceptible to this effect.

The comparison between experienced and inexperienced officers on both the FES and Maslach subscales was additionally limited in its cross-sectional approach. A longitudinal study of police officers and their families- measuring various individual and familial characteristics, and interviewing family members from the time of enlistment through the course of the officer's career- would provide a more reliable and comprehensive overview of police family development. The time and resources required for such a study are, or course, its major drawbacks.

G. The need for future research

Steinberg (1987) noted the recent resurgence of research in parent-adolescent relations. Continued changes in the structure and dynamics of the American family along with the increased pressure upon society and its social institutions posed by family-related social problems (e.g., substance abuse, suicide, divorce) speak to the need for more and varied research of this type. The author has identified the need for larger samples and for longitudinal research designs. These and other valuable research features (e.g., intensive interviewing, as with Levinson et al., 1978) will require larger commitments of both time and resources.

A primary goal of this study was to compare the profile of policemen's families with that of the general public on several issues pertaining to parent-adolescent relations. The limitations of this study restrict the extent to which its results may be applied to this sample, much less to police families elsewhere. It is fair to suggest, however, that this study raises some questions and identifies some issues which may distinguish police officers' families from the general public, all of which merit further study.

Among those questions is whether or not the same parental profile is evident when larger, more diverse, random police samples are recruited. Are police parents, in fact, more direct and authoritative with their adolescents than are other parents, and is this role predominantly fufilled by the mothers in these families?

Are different family profiles reported according to the officers' assignment in law enforcement (e.g., comparing undercover detectives to police administrators)? If different profiles do exist in police families and/or for different police assignments, what then are the implications of those findings for police training, for rotation of assignments and other police department policy, and for strategies utilized by mental health professionals to help officers and their families?

These are important questions for future police family research. Knowing more about police family relations and the influence of the officers' work upon those relations may help to improve the training for officers and their spouses, strengthen police marriages, diminish officers' abuse of and reliance upon harmful and addictive substances (e.g., alcohol,

cigarettes), and generally improve the professional effectiveness of police officers and their departments.

H. Implications for practice and police departmental policy

The law enforcement community can help future research efforts by making their officers more available to participate in these studies, by funding and facilitating future research, and by insuring that officer participation remains confidential. Given the mistrust that exists between administration and line personnel in many law enforcement agencies (e.g., Kroes, 1985; Baker, 1985), this may be a formidable task.

One aid to these efforts may be the officers' increased contact with reputable mental health professionals on an ongoing basis (e.g., through departments providing confidential, free psychological support staff to police officers and their families). The author has personally witnessed how an official change in administrative policy and the provision of psychological services staff has dramatically increased officers' trust of psychologists and their willingness to be cooperative in treatment or in research.

As mentioned in the first chapter, departments providing these services are finding that the outcome is that the programs help pay for themselves (e.g., through diminished absenteeism and worker's compensation claims; Dr. Carole Rivero, 10/85 police psychology conference, Boston).

Indianapolis (IN) police officials are now promoting their officers' and their families' wellness, providing them with comprehensive remedial and preventive psychological services and other health related services

(e.g., medical, dietary). Annual confidential case conferences are provided (and required) for each officer to learn more about their professional and family relationships. Indianapolis police officials described that they made this investment of resources "to enhance an officer's health rather than to wait and treat problems after they occur" (Snow, 1988, p. 36). Clearly these kinds of efforts will help law enforcement agencies learn more about their officers and their families.

It is crucial that the mental health professionals providing these services have either worked as law enforcement officers (the best alternative) or have spent considerable time with officers on the job (walking their beat with them, riding on patrols, observing in the station houses) to earn the necessary credibility and to learn and appreciate the role and experience of police officers. Only then may they optimally help these officers and their families.

Women and minority members are assuming increasing roles in law enforcement. They have additional social, family, and work-related issues which are important and deserve further study (Kroes, 1985).

Other occupational groups may also have their own sets of work-related issues, or distinctive qualities or characteristics honed by their jobs that set them apart from the general public. Some of the same social issues relevant for police families (e.g., divorce, suicide, substance abuse) and for officers in their work settings (e.g., absenteeism, burnout) may apply in different ways to these other occupational groups.

Clearly, a more comprehensive understanding of the relationship between an individual's work and their family relationships will help employers and their consultants to more effectively address each worker's

specific needs and concerns. Herein lies an expanding range of opportunities where applied psychology can make a significant and meaningful difference in improving the quality of people's lives.

Appendix A

Recruitment letter, letter of reference

University of Massachusetts/Amherst

Counseling Psychology Program

Spring 1988

Dear Police Families:

You are invited to participate in a study which will examine parent-adolescent relationships in policemen's families. This study will explore various aspects of how policemen and their wives relate with their oldest child at the time when that child enters early adolescence (ages 10-15). I am conducting this research to fulfill the requirements for my doctorate in Counseling Psychology. This study's proposal has been approved by the Human Subjects Review Committee, School of Education, University of Massachusetts/Amherst.

Why Study Policemen's Families?

Much has been written about policemen and their families, especially compared with other occupational groups. Books, movies, and television have long reflected the public's continued interest in police officers' lives. Numerous authors- including some police officers, psychologists and psychiatrists- have emphasized the important influence police work seems to have upon the officer and his family, and the significant effects police family relationships may have upon the officer's functioning on the job.

Carefully controlled studies are needed to learn more about policemen and their family relationships. Relatively few scientific studies have been conducted with police families. I know of none that systematically examine parent-adolescent relationships in police families when their oldest child enters adolescence. This study will address those issues.

Who Will Participate?

Two groups of police officers and their family members are needed to volunteer for this research. In both groups, it is <u>not</u> necessary that the parents be the biological parents of their children (i.e., children from previous relationships or adopted children may be included).

Group #1 will include married policemen with at least five years law enforcement experience, their wives, and their oldest child (son or daughter) who is 10-15 years old. These three family members must currently share the same residence.

Group #2 will include married first year policemen and their wives. These couples must also share the same residence, and have at least one child (of any age, who will not participate).

What Will These Police Families Be Asked to Do?

Volunteers for Group #1 and Group #2 will be asked to answer written questions about themselves and about their family relationships. This study's questionnaires have been tested and used in previous research studies and with the general public.

In Group #1, experienced policemen, their wives, and their oldest child (aged 10-15) will meet with me at their home (or at some other location of their choosing) at a time which is convenient for them. All three family members will receive instructions, and will then independently complete a series of questions pertaining to themselves and their family. This process will take approximately 90 minutes.

In Group #2, first year officers and their wives will also meet with me at their home (or some other location) at their convenience. As with the first group, they will receive some instructions, and will then independently complete a shorter series of questions. This process will require approximately 45 minutes.

That's all the time it takes to participate!

Confidentiality

As described, participants will complete these questionnaires independently, meaning that **NO ONE** except me will see their responses. The only document participants will actually put their names onto will be the Agreement to Participate Form (which will remind participants of their rights, as they are explained here). Each family will be assigned an identification number. This identification number will be written on each person's questionnaires (to identify them as theirs). **NO ONE besides myself will ever know the names or any other identifying information about the study's participants.**

Parents in Group #1 must give written permission for their adolescents to participate, and the adolescents must also be willing. Families also have the right to pull out of the study at any time (even after they've completed the questionnaires). If for any reason they change their minds and decide that they don't want to participate, their questionnaires will be destroyed.

If a family has questions about anything pertaining to the study (or other questions that the study raised for them) I will be happy to answer those questions as they arise. For those families who are interested in the results of the study, I will be happy to mail them a copy of the study's abstract (a summary of the findings) after the study's completion later in the summer.

What Do The Participants Get From This Study?

I hope that each volunteer will learn some things about themselves or about their families as a result of their completing these questionnaires. After I have met with all of the families needed for this study, I will recontact a handful of families and ask to briefly speak with them again, seeking their insights and opinions about the general trends this study's results suggest about police families. Any family wishing to speak with me again about any aspect of the study will be welcomed to do so.

I am also hoping that other police families will benefit from what we learn. I am preparing to work as a police psychologist after I complete this study and receive my doctorate. I hope that this study's findings can help me and others who work with police officers better understand what happens in police officers' families when their children become adolescents. Hopefully police administrators will also consider our findings, and modify departmental policies to be more supportive of improved police family relationships.

How Do We Volunteer to Participate?

Anyone who is interested in volunteering for the study OR who would like further information about any aspect of the study should call me at my home in Wrentham: **(617) 384-3418.** I will answer your questions and make an appointment to meet with you and your family, at your convenience (I will come anywhere, night or day, including weekends!!!). If I am not at home, my telephone answering machine will take your telephone number and any message, and I will call you back promptly.

Thank you all for reading this letter. I look forward to meeting you and your families. For your information, I am attaching another letter of

introduction from the Milford (MA) police department, where I have been training as a consultant for the past two and a half years.

Peter J. Smith
Doctoral Candidate in Counseling Psychology

TOWN OF MILFORD, MASSACHUSETTS
POLICE DEPARTMENT
Vincent W. Liberto, Chief
Telephones: 473-1113 473-1114

March 1988

To Whom It May Concern:

This letter is to introduce Mr. Peter Smith, who has been closely affiliated with this department since September of 1985. Peter contacted me at that time, seeking an intensive observation/training experience to learn about police work and its effects upon the officers, their families, and departments as organizations. He explained that he was a second year doctoral student in the Counseling Psychology program at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst, and that his goal was to become a police psychologist and consultant.

Peter's involvement has helped address some of our own departmental needs. His knowledge and experience as a former school teacher and family therapist helped to enrich our newly appointed juvenile officer's program. Rather than solely relying upon traditional arrest and prosecution procedures with our town's juveniles as we had in the past (and as many departments still do), Peter has contributed to our current approach of meeting with some of our offenders and their parents/guardians, briefly identifying some of their families' difficulties, and then making an appropriate referral to clinicians who have helped these families change their dysfunctional relational patterns.

Peter has also learned many things about police work, and its effects upon our officers. He has joined officers on all three of our shifts during their patrols nearly every week during the past two and a half academic years, and has had involvement with all of our specialty positions (e.g., training officer, court officers, detectives, supervisors, dispatcher). Officers at all levels in our department, including myself, have sought Peter's perspective and insights on a variety of matters during this period.

Peter has consistently proven himself to be a trusted professional with solid moral character. He began as an 'outsider,' and has earned our respect as a valued associate of this department.

Peter has informed me that he is about to begin his dissertation research, studying parent-adolescent relationships in police officers' families. Our department will be fully participating with Peter. I encourage your departments to welcome him and join in this important research effort. I invite you to contact me directly with any questions you may have about Peter's qualifications or character.

Vincent W. Liberto

Vincent W. Liberto, Chief
Milford Police Department

Appendix B
Agreement to participate

We, the undersigned, agree to participate in Peter Smith's doctoral research project studying parent-adolescent relationships in police officers' families, which has been approved by the Counseling Psychology program and the Human Subjects Review Committee in the School of Education, University of Massachusetts, Amherst. We also agree to allow our adolescent child, _____, to participate in this study, and assume all risks and responsibilities on his/her behalf.

We understand that we will be completing questionnaires about ourselves and our families, and that these questionnaires and any other identifying information learned by Mr. Smith will be held in strict confidence. We understand that these questionnaires have been tested in previous research.

We understand that Mr. Smith will answer any questions we may have about this study at any time. We also understand that we may change our minds at any time, and withdraw from the study or ask that our questionnaires be destroyed and not included in the study. We also understand that Mr. Smith will provide us with an abstract of the study and discuss its results with us upon its completion.

We agree that we will not hold Peter Smith nor the University of Massachusetts responsible for any injury (physical, psychological, or otherwise) or damage that occurs in relation to this research.

We are aware of all risks, described or implied, with this research, and agree to participate as an act of our own free will.

_____ _____

Mother's signature/date **Father's signature/date**

_____ _____

Adolescent's signature/date **Witness/date**

Appendix C

Directions (read aloud to all subjects by the researcher), fathers' and mothers' demographic questions

Following are some questions about yourself and your family relationships. Each series of questions will have its own directions. Read each set of directions, and then answer the questions that follow. If you have any questions about how to answer a set of questions (i.e., what the directions are asking you to do) or about what a question is asking, please ask me for assistance. Please keep all of your answers to yourselves, and do not discuss these questions or your responses with anyone else until the study has been completed and published.

This study aims to learn about police officers and their family relationships. You are reminded that all of your answers will be kept strictly confidential. No one, including members of your own family, will learn about how you respond. **You are asked to respond as accurately as you can to each answer. Remember that there are no "correct" responses to any of these questions. We are strictly interested in your opinions and perspectives.**

We ask that you complete these questions alone in a room, away from any distractions. Please proceed to the first set of questions. Read their directions, and then answer them. Continue until you have answered all of the questions. Return all materials to me when you have finished.

Fathers' Demographic Questions

1. What is your current age? _____ How old were you when you enlisted as a police officer? _____

2. How many years have you worked as a police officer? _____

3. How many times during your law enforcement career have you been seriously injured in the line of duty, requiring some medical attention and/or time off from work? _____

4. Have you ever been involved in a shooting incident (as either an observer or participant)? _____ (yes or no)

5. How many children do you have? _____

6. How many times have you been married? _____

7. How many years have you been married to your current wife? _____

8. Have you been physically separated (i.e., for more than one month) from your wife/wives before? _____ (yes or no) If yes, how many separations have you had? _____

9. Have you been divorced? _____ (yes or no)
If yes, how many times? _____

10. Do you smoke tobacco? _____ (yes or no)
If yes, how many times a day do you smoke (i.e., # of cigarettes, cigars, pipe loads)? _____

11. How many cups of coffee do you drink a day (on the average)? _____

12. On a scale of 1 to 10, rate your average monthly use of alcoholic beverages (where 1 represents one or two drinks per month or abstinence, 5 represents approximately one drink each day, and 10 represents three or more drinks per day and/or frequent instances of intoxication). _____

13. Please circle the highest level of education you have completed:
high school associates degree bachelors degree masters degree

Mothers' Demographic Questions

1. What is your current age? _____

2. How many times have you been married? _____

3. How many years have you been married to your current husband? _____

4. Have you been physically separated from your husband(s) before (yes or no)? _____ If yes, how many separations have you had? _____

5. Have you been divorced (yes or no)? _____
If yes, how many times? _____

6. On a scale of 1 to 10, rate your husband's monthly use of alcoholic beverages (where 1 represents one or two drinks per month or abstinence, 5 represents approximately one drink each day, and 10 represents three or more drinks each day and/or frequent instances of intoxication). _____

7. Please circle the highest level of education you have completed:

high school associates degree bachelors degree masters degree

8. Are you employed outside of your home (yes or no)? _____

9. If your husband was offered a different job today featuring similar income and benefits, would you like him to get out of law enforcement and take the new job (yes or no)? _____

Appendix D
Adolescent questionnaire, parents' questionnaire

PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

1. What is your current age? _____

2. What grade are you in at school? _____

3. On a scale of 1 to 10, rate your father's monthly use of alcoholic beverages (where 1 represents one of two drinks per month or no drinks at all, 5 represents approximately one drink each day, and 10 represents three or more drinks each day and/or frequent instances when your dad is intoxicated). _____

4. Would you like to work as a police officer some day (yes or no)? _____

5. If your father was offered a different job today with similar income and benefits, would you like him to get out of law enforcement and take the new job (yes or no)? _____

Student Attitudes and Opinions

Directions: Read each of the following statements. Decide whether you agree or disagree with the statement. In the blank space before each statement, write the number from the following responses which best describes your response:

4 Strongly Agree 3 Agree 2 Disagree 1 Strongly Disagree

_____ 1. My parents and I agree on everything.

_____ 2. I go to my parents for help before trying to solve a problem myself.

_____ 3. I have often wondered how my parents act when I'm not around.

_____ 4. Even when my parents and I disagree, my parents are always right.

Response Choices:
4 Strongly Agree 3 Agree 2 Disagree 1 Strongly Disagree

_____ 5. It's better for kids to go to their best friend than to their parents for advice on some things.

_____ 6. Whenever I've done something wrong, I depend upon my parents to straighten things out for me.

_____ 7. There are some things about me that my parents don't know.

_____ 8. My parents act differently when they are with their own parents than they do at home.

_____ 9. My parents know everything there is to know about me.

_____ 10. I might be surprised to see how my parents act at a party.

_____ 11. I try to have the same opinions as my parents.

_____ 12. When they are at work, my parents act pretty much the same way they do when they are at home.

_____ 13. If I was having a problem with one of my friends, I would discuss it with my mother of father before deciding what to do about it.

_____14. My parents would be surprised to know what I'm like when I'm not with them.

_____ 15. When I become a parent, I'm going to treat my children in exactly the same way that my parents have treated me.

_____ 16. My parents probably talk about different things when I am around than what they talk about when I'm not.
_____ 17. There are things that I will do differently from my mother and father when I become a parent.

_____ 18. My parents hardly ever make any mistakes.
_____ 19. I wish my parents would understand who I really am.

_____ 20. My parents act pretty much the same way when they are with their friends as they do when they are at home with me.

Myself

Directions: In this part of the questionnaire we would like you to think about yourself and indicate whether you AGREE STRONGLY, AGREE SLIGHTLY, DISAGREE SLIGHTLY, OR DISAGREE STRONGLY with each of the following statements. Write the appropriate number in the space provided.

4 if you AGREE STRONGLY with the item
3 if you AGREE SLIGHTLY with the item
2 if you DISAGREE SLIGHTLY with the item
1 if you DISAGREE STRONGLY with the item

_____ I feel that I have a number of good qualities.

_____ I feel that the things I do are useful.

_____ I tend to feel that I am a failure.

_____ I am often not sure of my decisions.

_____ I am confident about my physical attractiveness.

_____ I am able to do things as well as most other people.

_____ I wish I could have more respect for myself.

_____ I feel that I am a very competent person.

_____ I am very satisfied with myself as a person.

_____ I take a positive attitude toward myself.

My Health

Directions: For this section of the questionnaire, we would like you to think about how you've been feeling DURING THE PAST YEAR or so. Please indicate HOW OFTEN you've experienced each of the following things by writing the appropriate number beside each.

1 never
2 once
3 a few times
4 many times
5 very often

_____ felt over-tired

_____ felt nervous or worried

_____ felt "low" or depressed

_____ felt tense or irritable

_____ felt apart or alone

Next: Read the directions on the Family Environment Scale. Mark your answers (true or false) on the answer sheet provided with it.

Discussions at Home

Directions: Below is a list of things that sometimes get talked about at home. We would like you to look carefully at each topic on the left-hand side of the page and decide whether you have talked about that topic at all with your child DURING THE LAST TWO WEEKS. If the two of you have talked about the topic, circle YES. If the two of you have not talked about the topic, circle NO.

Then look at the right hand side of the page. If you circled YES for a topic, please indicate how angry the discussion you had about it was. If the discussion was VERY CALM, circle the number 1. If the discussion was VERY ANGRY, circle the number 5. If the discussion was somewhere in between, circle one of the numbers in between.

	DID YOU DISCUSS?		VERY CALM				VERY ANGRY
Whether my child does chores around the house	YES	NO	1	2	3	4	5
When my child has to do homework	YES	NO	1	2	3	4	5
How much time my child spends on homework each day	YES	NO	1	2	3	4	5
What time my child has to be home at night on weekends	YES	NO	1	2	3	4	5
Whether my child has to be home for dinner	YES	NO	1	2	3	4	5
How my child spends his or her own money	YES	NO	1	2	3	4	5
What sorts of clothes my child wears to school	YES	NO	1	2	3	4	5

Remember: These questions are about discussions you have had with your CHILD during the last two weeks.

	DID YOU DISCUSS?		VERY CALM				VERY ANGRY
Which friends my child spends time with	YES	NO	1	2	3	4	5
What time my child goes to sleep on schoolnights	YES	NO	1	2	3	4	5
How my child spends his or her time after school	YES	NO	1	2	3	4	5
Whether my child has to let me know where he or she goes when he or she goes out	YES	NO	1	2	3	4	5
Whether my child may smoke cigarettes	YES	NO	1	2	3	4	5
Whether my child may have friends over when his or her parents aren't home	YES	NO	1	2	3	4	5
How late my child may stay out on weeknights	YES	NO	1	2	3	4	5
Whether my child may have a job	YES	NO	1	2	3	4	5
Whether my child must accompany us on family visits or outings	YES	NO	1	2	3	4	5
What my child watches on television	YES	NO	1	2	3	4	5

Myself

DIRECTIONS: In this part of the questionnaire we would like you to think about yourself and indicate whether you AGREE STRONGLY, AGREE SLIGHTLY, DISAGREE SLIGHTLY, or DISAGREE STRONGLY with each of the following statements by writing the appropriate number in the space provided.

4 if you AGREE STRONGLY with the item
3 if you AGREE SLIGHTLY with the item
2 if you DISAGREE SLIGHTLY with the item
1 if you DISAGREE STRONGLY with the item

_____ I feel that I have a number of good qualities.

_____ I feel that the things I do are useful.

_____ I tend to feel that I am a failure.

_____ I am often not sure of my decisions.

_____ I am confident about my physical attractiveness.

_____ I am able to do things as well as most other people.

_____ I wish I could have more respect for myself.

_____ I feel that I am a very competent person.

_____ I am very satisfied with myself as a person.

_____ I take a positive attitude toward myself.

Inner Thoughts

DIRECTIONS: Below is a list of statements which reflect thoughts and feelings you may or may not have had recently. Read each statement and indicate HOW OFTEN you have experienced these thoughts WITHIN THE PAST YEAR OR SO (very often, sometimes, not very much, or never) by writing the appropriate number besides the statement.

4 VERY OFTEN
3 SOMETIMES
2 NOT VERY MUCH
1 NEVER

_____ I think about how my life could have been different if I had made other choices when I was younger.

_____ I find myself wondering if I've put too much emphasis on certain things in my life while neglecting other important things.

_____ I find myself wishing I had raised my child(ren) in a different way.

_____ I find myself wondering what it is I really want in life.

_____ I find myself wishing that I had the opportunity to start afresh and do things over, knowing what I do now.

_____ I find myself wondering if I see myself the way I really am.

_____ I find myself wondering whether my spouse and I could have developed a closer relationship than the one we have now.

continued on the next page-

Read each of the following statements and indicate whether you AGREE STRONGLY, AGREE SLIGHTLY, DISAGREE SLIGHTLY, or DISAGREE STRONGLY by writing the appropriate number beside the statement.

4 if you AGREE STRONGLY with the item
3 if you AGREE SLIGHTLY with the item
2 if you DISAGREE SLIGHTLY with the item
1 if you DISAGREE STRONGLY with the item

_____ I'm sure that most of the decisions I've made in my life were the best ones for me.

_____ I would not want to change many things in my life.

_____ I'm not sure if I've really used my abilities in the best way.

General Life Opinion Questionnaire

Here are some words and phrases which we would like you to use to describe how you feel about your PRESENT LIFE. For example, if you think your present life is boring, put an **X** on the line right next to the word "boring." If you think it is very interesting, put an **X** on the line right next to the word "interesting." If you think it is somewhere in between, put an **X** where you think it belongs. PUT AN **X** ON ONE LINE FOR EACH PAIR OF WORDS OR PHRASES.

Boring	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Interesting
Enjoyable	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Miserable
Useless	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Worthwhile
Friendly	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Lonely
Full	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Empty
Discouraging	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Hopeful
Disappointing	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Rewarding
Brings out the best in me	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Doesn't give me much chance

My Health

Directions: For this section of the questionnaire, we would like you to think about how you've been feeling DURING THE PAST YEAR or so. Please indicate HOW OFTEN you've experienced each of the following things by writing the appropriate number beside each.

1 never
2 once
3 a few times
4 many times
5 very often

_____ felt over-tired

_____ felt nervous or worried

_____ felt "low" or depressed

_____ felt tense or irritable

_____ felt apart or alone

Next: Read the directions on the Family Environment Scale. Mark your answers (true or false) on the answer sheet provided with it.

Fathers only- When you have completed the Family Environment Scale, then read the directions and complete the Human Services Survey.

You have finished. Thank You!!!

Appendix E

FES subscale and dimension descriptions*, FES subscale means and standard deviations (SD) for parents and adolescent children from the same families (N- 446 families)

Subscale	
	Relationship Dimensions
1. Cohesion	the degree of commitment, help, and support family members provide for one another.
2. Expressiveness	the extent to which family members are encouraged to act openly and to express their feelings directly
3. Conflict	the amount of openly expressed anger, aggression, and conflict among family members
	Personal Growth Dimensions
4. Independence	the extent to which family members are assertive, are self-sufficient, and make their own decisions
5. Achievement Orientation	the extent to which activities (such as school and work) are cast into achievement-oriented or competitive framework
6. Intellectual-Cultural Orientation	the degree of interest in political, social, intellectual, or cultural activities
7. Active-Recreational Orientation	the extent of participation in social and recreational acitivities
8. Moral-Religious Emphasis	the degree of emphasis on ethical and religious issues and values
	System Maintenance Dimensions
9. Organization	the degree of importance of clear organization and structure in planning family activities and responsibilities
10. Control	the extent to which set rules and procedures are used to run family life

FES subscale means and standard deviations (SD) for parents and adolescent children from the same families (N- 446 families)*

Subscales	Parents Mean	SD	Children Mean	SD
Cohesion	6.80	2.02	6.09	2.11
Expressiveness	5.68	1.78	4.49	1.76
Conflict	3.76	2.32	4.30	2.27
Independence	6.84	1.31	6.37	1.49
Achievement Orientation	5.60	1.79	5.82	1.64
Intellectual-Cultural Orientation	5.92	2.32	5.23	2.19
Active-Recreational Orientation	5.55	2.06	5.75	2.02
Moral-Religious Emphasis	5.19	2.19	4.34	2.24
Organization	5.54	2.19	5.43	2.08
Control	4.97	1.89	4.87	2.10

Appendix F

Correlational data for convergent validity of the MBI+, the "Human Services Survey" (Maslach Burnout Inventory- MBI)

External Validation of Personal Experience (Peer Ratings)

Personal Experience Category:	Correlation with MBI Subscale:
	Higher emotional exhaustion
upset and angry	.34***
tense or anxious	.27***
physically exhausted	.20**
complaining about problems	.26***
gets angry with family	.16*
wants to be alone, not with family	.16*
more insomnia	.24**
takes a drink	.24**
uses medications	.17*
	Higher depersonalization
gets angry at family	.16*
sees children as emotionally distant	.32***
absent from family celebrations	.21**
fewer friends	.22**
officer and wife have different friends	.17*
	Higher personal accomplishment
cheerful or happy	.25**
works brings pride and prestige	.24**
sees children as emotionally close	.38***
fewer tranquilizers	-.18*
fewer medications	-.28**

Data from Jackson and Maslach, 1982; N= 142 police officers and spouses.
All p values are two-tailed: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

The "Human Services Survey" (Maslach Burnout Inventory- MBI)*

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Christina Maslach • Susan E. Jackson

Human Services Survey

The purpose of this survey is to discover how various persons in the human services or helping professions view their jobs and the people with whom they work closely. Because persons in a wide variety of occupations will answer this survey, it uses the term *recipients* to refer to the people for whom you provide your service, care, treatment, or instruction. When answering this survey please think of these people as recipients of the service you provide, even though you may use another term in your work.

On the following page there are 22 statements of job-related feelings. Please read each statement carefully and decide if you ever feel this way *about your job*. If you have *never* had this feeling, write a "0" (zero) before the statement. If you have had this feeling, indicate *how often* you feel it by writing the number (from 1 to 6) that best describes how frequently you feel that way. An example is shown below.

Example:

HOW OFTEN:	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Never	A few times a year or less	Once a month or less	A few times a month	Once a week	A few times a week	Every day

HOW OFTEN 0 - 6	Statement:
_____	I feel depressed at work.

If you *never* feel depressed at work, you would write the number "0" (zero) under the heading "HOW OFTEN." If you *rarely* feel depressed at work (a few times a year or less), you would write the number "1." If your feelings of depression are fairly frequent (a few times a week, but not daily) you would write a "5."

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Human Services Survey

HOW OFTEN:	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Never	A few times a year or less	Once a month or less	A few times a month	Once a week	A few times a week	Every day

HOW OFTEN 0 - 6	Statements:
1. _____	I feel emotionally drained from my work.
2. _____	I feel used up at the end of the workday.
3. _____	I feel fatigued when I get up in the morning and have to face another day on the job.
4. _____	I can easily understand how my recipients feel about things.
5. _____	I feel I treat some recipients as if they were impersonal objects.
6. _____	Working with people all day is really a strain for me.
7. _____	I deal very effectively with the problems of my recipients.
8. _____	I feel burned out from my work.
9. _____	I feel I'm positively influencing other people's lives through my work.
10. _____	I've become more callous toward people since I took this job.
11. _____	I worry that this job is hardening me emotionally.
12. _____	I feel very energetic.
13. _____	I feel frustrated by my job.
14. _____	I feel I'm working too hard on my job.
15. _____	I don't really care what happens to some recipients.
16. _____	Working with people directly puts too much stress on me.
17. _____	I can easily create a relaxed atmosphere with my recipients.
18. _____	I feel exhilarated after working closely with my recipients.
19. _____	I have accomplished many worthwhile things in this job.
20. _____	I feel like I'm at the end of my rope.
21. _____	In my work, I deal with emotional problems very calmly.
22. _____	I feel recipients blame me for some of their problems.

(Administrative use only)		cat.		cat.		cat.
EE:	_____	_____	DP: _____	_____	PA: _____	_____

Appendix G
Permission letters

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12.17.1987/katt

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USA

Dear Mr. Smith:

I just recently received your letter in which you requested permission to use the instruments included in my 1987 Journal of Youth and Adolescence study. I appreciated the time you took to explain your proposed work. It sounds like an interesting and worthwhile endeavor.

I am happy to have you include the measures in your research. (As I will explain below, several of the instruments are ones that were actually developed by other researchers.) Because your project will overlap to a great extent with our work, i.e. not only with respect to measures but also in terms of conceptualization, I just ask that in return you provide me with a summary of your study's results and perhaps some information about your experience with certain measures (e.g., the reliability of the midlife identity concerns scale).

Enclosed are copies of the following instruments (basic descriptions and the internal consistency of each scale can be found in the JYA article):

(a) Emotional Autonomy Scale (developed by Steinberg, 1985; see Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986 for details) For administration, we embedded these items within another scale assessing aspects of psychosocial development and labeled the resulting questionnaire "Student Attitudes and Opinions."

(b) Parent-Adolescent Conflict Scale (Parent and Adolescent Versions) Although we report the results only for the parent version of the scale in the article, we did in fact ask the adolescents to complete an appropriate version of the same questionnaire twice: once in regard to their mother (internal consistency is .76) and once in regard to their father (.80). This instrument is based, in part, on the work of other

researchers cited in the JYA piece. While conflict and communication scores can be derived from it in a number of ways, for this report we computed an average intensity of conflict score by dividing the total score by the number of issues discussed. For administration, we labeled the scale "Discussions at Home." We briefly explained the instructions to the respondents during the home visit (see JYA Procedures section).

(c) Self-Esteem Scale This a slightly revised version of Rosenberg's scale, which I have enclosed for comparison. For administration we labeled the scale "Myself."

(d) Midlife Identity Concerns Scale I originally developed this measure as part of my dissertation research. Some items were adapted from the work of other authors cited in the article. It was an attempt to move away from the notion of midlife crisis. For administration, we labeled this scale "Inner Thoughts."

(e) General Life Satisfaction Scale This 7-point semantic differential scale was developed by Campbell, Converse, and Rodgers (1976) and was printed in their book. Reliability analyses suggested that we drop two of the items (these are indicated on the measure). Our analyses and report of reliability are thus based on an 8-item scale. We used an average score across the eight items. This scale was labeled "General Life Opinion Scale."

(f) Psychological Symptoms This scale was adapted from the CES-D Scale as mentioned in the article. We decided to use only the five items I've indicated on the measure in analyses after conducting a factor analysis of the items.

If you have any questions, feel free to contact me again. I wish you success with your research and a good New Year.

Sincerely,

Susan B. Silverberg

Susan B. Silverberg
Postdoctoral Fellow

P.S. Note that the correlations of .39 and -.38 in Table II of the JYA article are significant ($p<.01$).

Enclosures

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